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Black Sea Fleet Calls For Yeltsin, Kravchuk Meeting

LD2405222193 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1623 GMT 24 May 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Roman Sadunayskiy]

[Text] Moscow, 24 May—A meeting should be held in Sevastopol between the presidents of Russia and Ukraine to resolve the entire range of issues regarding the Black Sea Fleet with the chairman of the Crimean Supreme Soviet participating with full rights—this is the proposal that the officers of the Black Sea Fleet's submarine division addressed to the heads of the two republics. They adopted this appeal unanimously at the unit's officers' assembly.

According to the report given to an ITAR-TASS correspondent at the Black Sea Fleet press center, the Black Sea Fleet officers proposed resolving as soon as possible the issue of introducing dual citizenship in the Crimea and of resolving the problem of financing the fleet and paying allowances to personnel.

It is proposed that the coordination council of the Black Sea Fleet should hold an assembly of officers from the whole fleet.

Decisively condemning the actions of the Ukrainian Navy regarding the violation of the Yalta agreements on the fleet, the officers' assembly of the Black Sea Fleet submarine division stated its right to take appropriate measures.

Morozov Condemns Black Sea Fleet; Grachev Plays Down Unrest

PM2505092593 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 25 May 93 p 3

[Aleksandr Pilipchuk report: "'Parade of Flags' Continues in Black Sea Fleet. More than 100 Warships and Auxiliary Ships Participate"]

[Text] The situation in the Black Sea Fleet has, in the view of many observers, become explosive in the last few days. We have already informed readers (KRASNAYA ZVEZDA No. 112) that the St. Andrew's ensign was raised above several vessels of the Black Sea Fleet Crimean Naval Base's 171st auxiliary ship division. It is interesting to note that the majority (65 percent) of the vessels' crew members are Ukrainians. Two days later, a response came from the Ukrainian Ministry of Defense. On 20 May Defense Minister Colonel General Kostyantyn Morozov signed Order 103 "On Assessing the Actions of the Crews of Vessels of the Black Sea Fleet's 171st Auxiliary Ship Division and on Taking Measures in Connection with Them."

"By raising the St. Andrew's ensign, which is the Russian Federation Navy's flag," the order says, "the vessels have had their status changed to that of vessels of a foreign state stationed in Ukraine, and the vessels' crew members—who are Ukrainian citizens—have acquired the status of Ukrainian citizens serving on vessels of another state...

"In accordance with legislation, other states' troops, forces, and resources cannot be stationed in Ukraine, and Ukrainian citizens cannot serve in the armies of other states without special permission from the Supreme Soviet.

"I order the Ukrainian Armed Forces chief of Main Staff to draw up measures to organize the withdrawal from Ukrainian territory of Black Sea Fleet warships and auxiliary ships which have raised the St. Andrew's ensign, and to submit these for the approval of the Russian Federation General Staff.

"I order the chief of the Ukrainian Ministry of Defense Finance Directorate to stop the payment of monetary allowances to the crews of Black Sea Fleet warships and auxiliary ships which have raised the St. Andrew's ensign."

The law of physics that states that each force has an equal and opposite force is being enacted in a particularly graphic manner in politics. On 21 May, the St. Andrew's ensign was raised on 20 more vessels—this time on the 9th brigade of Black Sea Fleet logistic support ships. The decision to do this was adopted at general assemblies of the crews. An appeal to both states' presidents expresses that they are attempting to draw their attention to the problems of the status of the fleet and of its servicemen through this action. The crews express their dissatisfaction at the the Ukrainian Defense Ministry and Navy's acts of provocation to unilaterally reassign Black Sea Fleet units to a new command, and at the size of their monetary allowance which is paid at Ukrainian rates and is putting Black Sea Fleet sailors—in particular auxiliary ship crews—on the poverty line. "The taking over of warships, naval servicemen's seizure of the apartments of Black Sea Fleet sailors (KRASNAYA ZVEZDA wrote about this in Nos. 114-115, A.P.), and threats to reduce the fleet's finances," the appeal says, "are only some of the methods by which the Ukrainian Navy command is undermining the Yalta Agreement."

The idea has already been expressed in KRASNAYA ZVEZDA that these actions undertaken by certain forces in Ukraine were designed to cause the Yalta Agreement to be declared null and void. The newspaper's predictions turned out to be accurate. As we have learned, the Ukrainian Republican Party's Crimean regional organization is demanding that criminal proceedings for suspected treason be instituted against the Ukrainian citizens who raised military ensigns of a neighboring state above a number of Black Sea Fleet ships on 18 May. The Ukrainian Republican Party's Crimean organization also considers that this fact confirms that the Yalta Agreement is not functioning and is demanding of the president and the Supreme Soviet that it be immediately declared null and void.

At the request of KRASNAYA ZVEZDA, Army General Pavel Grachev, the Russian defense minister, gave his assessment of the situation which has developed in the Black Sea Fleet and of the steps which the Ukrainian military department has taken:

"We should not dramatize the situation. Neither I nor my Ukrainian colleague have the right to adopt decisions on the Black Sea Fleet without the Russian and Ukrainian presidents' knowledge. I have made a report on what is happening to Boris Nikolayevich Yeltsin. I think that the two presidents now have something to talk about and a dialogue may take place."

As we have learned in the last hour, passions have have intensified in the Black Sea Fleet's main base in Sevastopol. Different parties and movements have made statements in which views across the entire political spectrum are reflected—from the Yalta Agreement being declared null and void immediately to conducting a Russian-Ukrainian summit meeting.

The St. Andrew's ensign was raised above warships and auxiliary ships of several more units on 24 May. Altogether more than 100 warships and auxiliary ships are already participating in the "parade of flags."

Baltic States Sign Agreement on Free Medical Aid

WS2505073793 Tallinn BNS in English 2015 GMT 21 May 93

[Text] Riga, May 21, BNS—The representatives of Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania on Friday [21 May] signed the tripartite medical co-operation agreement.

The agreement envisages free medical aid to the citizens of the Baltic republics in all three states and special medical aid for adolescents and children.

The document also envisages co-operation in medicament industry, medical technology, scientific research, etc.

A centre for co-ordinating medical aid in case of catastrophies, and specialized health centres will be created.

An operative system of information exchange should be created for emergency.

The agreement was signed by Vello Ulmo from the Estonian Social Ministry, Lithuanian Minister of Health Jurgis Bridikis, and director of the Latvian Health Department Zigmunds Kovalcuks.

Private Farming Expanding Despite Problems

PM2405160393 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 22 May 93 First Edition p 4

[Report by Viktor Nefedov, deputy chairman of the CIS statistical committee: "The Number of Private Farms in the CIS Rises to 540,000"]

[Text] The latest statistics show that, despite all the problems, there has been no letup in the peasants' ambitions to farm for themselves. The number of peasant (private) farms in the CIS continues to increase steadily.

By the beginning of April there were already around 540,000, which is 70,000 more than at the beginning of the year. Private farms in the CIS states now occupy over 17 million hectares.

The farmers' movement is most active in Russia. By 1 May this year there were 243,000 private farms in Russia (43 hectares of land per farm). By the beginning of April there were 20,700 in Ukraine (20 hectares each on average); 16,700 in Kyrgyzstan (23 hectares each); 11,100 in Kazakhstan (531 hectares each); 9,400 in Belarus (20 hectares each), and 5,800 in Uzbekistan (nine hectares each). In Armenia, where most of the publicly-owned farms have been turned into peasant farms, there were 246,000 farms (average size less than two hectares per farm), according to the latest data. There are only eight private farms in Tajikistan (45 hectares each), around 100 in Turkmenistan (11 hectares each), and around 500 in Moldova (three hectares each).

Agrarian reforms are continuing in the CIS countries. Publicly-owned farms are being reorganized and privatized, land is being redistributed, and structural transformations are taking place. By March, 22,200 kolkhozes and sovkhozes had been reregistered in Russia (87 percent of the total number). The collectives of 7,500 farms (one-third of those that have been reregistered) decided to retain their former status and the rest opted for other forms of management.

In Moldova, nearly 40 percent of kolkhozes, sovkhozes, and interfarm and other enterprises and organizations had been reregistered by the beginning of the year. Moreover, the collectives of 94 percent of the enterprises have decided to keep their status, while the rest have become leasehold enterprises, joint-stock companies, cooperatives, or other entities. In Kazakhstan, more than one-fifth of the kolkhozes, sovkhozes, and interfarm and other agricultural production enterprises have been privatized. Nearly 800 collective (including 37 joint-stock) enterprises, around 100 agricultural cooperatives, 400 small enterprises, and 800 private farms have been formed on the basis of them.

Private farms are not yet having a significant impact on the food situation. Private farms accounted for 0.9 percent of the total volume of gross agricultural output in Russia in 1992, although private farms are playing a more prominent part in relation to some products. Last year they produced 5.8 percent of the sunflowers for grain and around two percent of the grain and sugar beets in Russia. At the same time, private farms produced 0.5 percent of the milk and 0.7 percent of the meat.

The most market-oriented spheres of production in the surveyed private farms in Russia in 1992 were production of vegetables and meat (around three-fourths of the products were marketed), grain, sunflowers for grain, milk, sugar beets, and honey (approximately 50 percent plus). At the same time, one-third of the potatoes and one-fourth of the eggs they produced were marketed.

In the current economic situation, farmers are finding it very difficult to equip their farms. Only two houses, seven livestock-raising units, and two kilometers of highways were built in Russia in 1992 per 100 surveyed private farms.

Farmers and other producers are finding it very difficult to invest in production because of inflation—the explosive, unbridled growth of the money supply and the associated fall in the ruble's purchasing power.

Prices of the means of production supplied to agriculture by industry are rising inexorably in the inflation and monopoly conditions. They increased 17-20 times on average in Russia in 1992 compared with 1991, including 16 times for mixed feed, 21 times for mineral fertilizers, 19 times for agricultural machinery and equipment for plant growing and livestock raising, 25 times for tractors, 26 times for motor vehicles, and 35 times for fuel and lubricants. Purchase prices of agricultural products increased 10 times over during that period.

Asked what they thought was inhibiting the development of their own farms, more than 80 percent of the farmers polled in Russia said it was high prices for agricultural equipment and construction materials; 42-44 percent cited problems obtaining credits and high interest rates; around 60 percent pointed to the shortage of specialized equipment, seed, fertilizers, and other resources, 38 percent blamed a lack of highways, communications, water and gas supply systems, and 17 percent said that they lack specialized knowledge.

The process of the formation of the new economic sector and the saturation of the food market depend on curbing inflation and giving farmers effective state assistance.

ITAR-TASS Carries Press Review for 25 May

LD2505063593 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0534 GMT 25 May

["Press Review"—ITAR-TASS headline]

[Text] Moscow, May 25 (TASS)—The press continues to highlight matters connected with the preparation of a draft fundamental law of Russia. "The publication of the Presidential Decree 'On the Convocation of a Constitutional Assembly and the Finalisation of the Preparation of a Draft Constitution of the Russian Federation' have brought to an end a certain 'discussion' stage in the formation of a body capable of preparing and presenting to society a draft new fundamental law," writes the newspaper ROSSIISKIE VESTI.

"Boris Yeltsin took into consideration all the opinions about the composition of a constitutional assembly: Not only representatives of federal power bodies of the subjects of the federation are invited to participate in the work but also delegates from local government bodies, political parties, public organisations and movements, commodity producers and entrepreneurs, trade unions, the clergy, and the scientific community.

"How the work of the constitutional assembly will proceed is an abstract matter so far. It will assume specific features after the composition of participants is finally determined. But in any case that will be a widely-representative assembly and it will be impossible not to reckon with the opinion and decisions of it," the newspaper writes.

NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA (independent newspaper), summing up the results of a preliminary analysis of the political positions of 117 political, trade union and creative organisations invited to the constitutional assembly, believes that most of them will adhere to a "pro-presidential line".

"At the same time the advantage of the democrats over the joint forces of opposition and centrist organisations is not so great to make their triumph absolute and indubitable," the newspaper observes.

"Lawmaking in itself, including the constitution elaboration process, will not and cannot be a cure-all," points out Viktor Toporov from St. Petersburg in an article headlined "The Constitution as a Weapon of Personal Political Struggle" in NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA.

Making a critical assessment of the internal political situation in the country, the writer of the article dramatises the situation, predicting "the prospect for a change-over to state-of-emergency regulations in autumn this year or, at the latest, by the winter", in both economic and political spheres.

NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA, commenting on the results of the "Euro-American tour" by Russian Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev, emphasises in connection with the efforts to settle the conflict in the former Yugoslavia that "the Russian initiative proposed at the right time made the conflicting sides come to ponder and at the same time additionally rallied the countries of the world community which only a week ago adhered to different positions on how to settle the conflict".

"Reform in the Army: Reference Points for the Military Press" is the headline of an account, published in KRASNAYA ZVEZDA (RED STAR), of a meeting between General of the Army Pavel Grachev, Russian minister of defence, and military journalists in the newspaper's editorial office on May 21.

In a brief analysis of the development of Russian Armed Forces, which began a year ago, the minister pointed out that many changes have taken place in the Russian Army since and the foundation of qualitatiely new armed forces has been laid. A large amount of work has been done for the development of armed forces under new conditions, a structural reorganisation has been launched, and much has been done as regards the withdrawal of troops from outside Russia, rearrangement and technical re-equipment of units.

Having pointed out that the work has to be done under the conditions of economic and political instability, Grachev emphasised that, notwithstanding that, reforms in the army are still under way, albeit with difficulty and contradictorily.

The army newspaper also reports the May 22 conference of the leading personnel of the armed forces to discuss the first results of final inspections of troops.

SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA, PRAVDA and other newspapers run articles about the Monday celebration of the Day of Saints Cyril and Methodius—Slavonic enlighteners known as the founders of Slavonic writing and translators of the Bible from Greek.

Kozyrev on National Interests at Stake in Balkan Dispute

LD2405145393 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 1300 GMT 24 May 93

[Text] We start this bulletin of news with a report from our diplomatic correspondent, Viktor Levin, on Russian Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev's conversation with journalists who were accompanying him.

[Levin] In reply to one of the questions, Kozyrev said the Vance-Owen plan was undoubtedly saved and did not agree that a particular side could cancel it. The minister also noted that the plan is not a dogma; it gives a direction for movement and will change and be corrected. Kozyrev was strongly critical of the Croats. They signed the Vance-Owen plan, the minister said, and then went and caused bloodshed in Mostar. Such policies cannot do anything but cause outrage. We get the impression—I'm quoting Kozyrev—that they are simply cheating. I asked the minister to say what Russia's national interest is in the former Yugoslavia. I will remind you that the conversation took place during the plane flight, and therefore the engines can be heard. In reply to my question, Kozyrev said:

[Begin Kozyrev recording] It is in our national interest to be balanced in our approach—since any imbalance would cause resentment on the other side. Say, if we were unreasonably or single-mindedly pro-Serbian, we would certainly cause long-term irritation and ruin our ties, including economic ones, with all other Yugoslav peoples. This would be a poor policy. Nor do we need continuity in relations with any party, since all these republics are going through a rather difficult phase, and if we cater to just one party, we might become hostage to the policy of one particular government. And these governments are, as it were, relatively temporary, and no one as yet knows how history will judge these governments. Therefore, this would also be a poor policy.

First of all, peace ought to be restored. Then we can use those special ties that are now being reinforced in view of our active role in settling the conflict, use them to revive economic, cultural, and spiritual traditions of friendship and, as it were, affinity. There is no denying that we have special affinity for the Serbs, but we also have affinity with other peoples. After all, Yugoslavs are Slavonic peoples. Of course, historically we had very close ties. But don't we also have historical ties, say, with France? One half of "War and Peace," or at least [word indistinct], was written in French, not in Serbo-Croat. But a sensible awareness that they are certainly drawn towards us rather than to other European countries is a factor that should be considered in politics. Therefore, I believe that the aggregate of circumstances is working in our national interests. [end recording]

Kozyrev Sees 'New Accents' in Search for Bosnia Settlement

LD2405182593 Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel Network in Russian 1700 GMT 24 May 93

[Interview with Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev by correspondent Vladimir Beletskiy; place and date not given; from the "Novosti" newscast—recorded]

[Text] Today Russian Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev returned form Washington, where a session of foreign ministers of the United States, the Russian Federation, Great Britain, France, and Spain was held to discuss the problems of regulating the bloodshed in Bosnia-Herzegovina. The ministers adopted a joint plan of action.

[Begin recording] [Beletskiy] Andrey Vladimirovich, you have just completed a trip to several countries. Have any kind of new accents appeared in resolving the Bosnian problem?

[Kozyrev] Yes, new accents have appeared. First we managed to avert the collapse of all the peace initiatives and thus the untying of the aggressive forces' hands in Yugoslavia itself. Second, we managed to consolidate international support, drawing on the spirit of Vancouver, that is with the special partnership of the United States, and with our extremely close partnership with the European powers. All this was brought together in a single document which creates the framework both for the continuation of the international efforts and for the continuation of the efforts on the spot. Therefore Churkin, the president's special representative, is already in Yugoslavia and is implementing these initiatives, and beginning today the Security Council is setting about adopting a series of resolutions, also with regard to the implementation of this package.

Naturally, we should proceed from the fact that the situation there is extremely complicated. There are no simple solutions. Unfortunately one cannot expect that there will be peace in Yugoslavia tomorrow. [end recording]

Kozyrev's Mission to Europe, U.S. Assessed

PM2505091793 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 25 May 93 First Edition pp 1, 3

[Maksim Yusin report: "International Community Refrains From Military Action in Former Yugoslavia for the Time Being"]

[Text] Washington-Moscow—The "program of joint action" adopted in Washington 22 May by the foreign ministers of Russia, the United States, France, Great Britain, and Spain emerged as the main result of six days of efforts on the part of Andrey Kozyrev. Last week, the leader of Russian diplomacy completed a hectic tour, following a route from Moscow to Berlin, Split, Belgrade, Rome, Washington, New York, and Washington again.

Right up until the last minute, the declaration by the five states, labeled the "Yugoslavia Five" at the U.N. Security Council, seemed unlikely. It seemed that the sides' positions were so far apart that any kind of agreement was simply impossible. The Americans publicly expounded their idea: to obtain the launch of air strikes against Serbian positions in Bosnia, and the lifting of the embargo on supplying arms to Muslims. Russia objected categorically on both counts. The majority of West European states showed solidarity with Russia's approach.

"The Bosnian Serb referendum forced us to act quickly and decisively. It was vital to seize the initiative, not to derail the peace process, and not to allow any rash actions to lead to irreversible consequences," Kozyrev explained to journalists accompanying him on his journey in the airplane en route to Moscow. The minister admitted that the tour's timing had sparked debate on Smolensk Square. It was feared there that Kozyrev's mission might be perceived as a counterbalance to Warren Christopher's recent trip around European capitals, when the secretary of state tried in vain to persuade allies to support America's plan. In no event did Moscow want to pit itself against the United States.

Nevertheless, Kozyrev decided to fill the diplomatic vacuum which had formed after Christopher's unsuccessful tour and the Bosnian Serb referendum. At the same time, Russia's diplomats did not miss the chance to stress that a settlement in Bosnia is impossible without Washington's participation, and that the main task now is to prevent a withdrawal by the Americans, hurt by the fact that their European allies have sided with Russia, leaving the United States in unaccustomed isolation.

The talks in Washington progressed with difficulty. There was a point where Kozyrev even intended to return to Russia without securing either a meeting with President Clinton or agreement from the Americans on a joint declaration with the Europeans. However, at the last minute Washington softened its approach. Clinton met Kozyrev, and Christopher signed the five ministers' statement. How can this u-turn be explained? It is believed amid Kozyrev's entourage that the Americans are no less fearful than the Europeans of a split, and they made concessions in order to preserve the united front of the "great powers." In an effort to save face, Christopher secured the inclusion in the text of several provisions that were absent in the original version. For example, the 13th and final point about the possibility of "new and tougher measures, none of which is predetermined or ruled out of consideration."

[Text] But this was possibly the sharpest passage in the Washington declaration. The international military intervention which seemed like a real possibility a month ago did not get mention. The "group of five" limited themselves to a promise to continue defending the safe zones around the Muslim cities besieged by the Serbs. The United States declared its willingness to assist the UN forces if they come under attack. And Russia has not ruled out sending its servicemen to Bosnia. The question of where and when they will be deployed remains open. According to Kozyrev, discussion of this issue can only take place following the adoption of an appropriate UN Security Council resolution.

The fairly tough line being taken toward Croatia is a new departure in the position of the permanent members of the Security Council. Whereas before only Russia occasionally raised the issue of sanctions against Zagreb, it is now supported by both the Europeans and the Americans. In the eighth point of the declaration the ministers express their "deep concern" at the hostilities between the Croats and the Muslims and warn that if Zagreb continues to assist its compatriots in Bosnia, the international community could introduce sanctions.

On the insistence of the Americans and the British, a separate point has been devoted to Macedonia. The declaration's authors warn that "aggression" against this republic will have grave consequences. London insisted on the term "aggression." Russia inclined toward a milder definition.

Commentators could not fail to focus on the fact that the Washington document very rarely mentions the Vance-Owen plan. Nowhere is it stated directly that the peace process should be implemented on the basis of this plan. It is merely noted that "mutually agreed provisions from this plan" could be used.

Without directly rejecting the peace plan, the "group of five" practically renounced the idea of implementing it in its full form. The Americans' skeptical attitude, which is shared by some influential figures on Smolensk Square, ultimately bore fruit. And although Kozyrev claimed in a press interview that the Vance-Owen Plan is alive, we get the impression that Moscow's attitude to it is far cooler than was the case previously.

At the same time Russian diplomats acknowledge that the world community has no other more effective plan. It is no secret to anyone that the Washington declaration, on which so much effort has been expended, does not outline any specific ways of getting out of the Yugoslav deadlock. Influenced by Russia, the Security Council has chosen the wait-and-see tactic in the Bosnian conflict.

Efforts on Yugoslavia Applauded; U.S. Faulted on Kozyrev

MK2505094693 Moscow NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA in Russian 25 May 93 p 1

[Aleksandr Nadzharov report: "There Are Tunes That Cannot Be Played on Drums. Comments on the Results of Andrey Kozyrev's European-American Tour"]

[Excerpt] [Passage omitted] The question arises: Who won in the diplomatic competition regarding Yugoslavia, which fortunately ended in the adoption of the Washington statement? Some forces inside this country? Or, maybe, the Russians, Americans, or the Europeans?

This question can hardly be answered unequivocally, although some part of the answer is contained in the metaphorical pronouncement by Deputy Russian Foreign Minister Vitaliy Churkin: "There are tunes that cannot be played on drums."

Significant shifts in the U.S. stance are also reflected in the fact that, according to the U.S. secretary of state, the United States "is prepared to provide immediate assistance to protect the United Nations forces that will ensure the security of these zones if they come under attack." He ruled out, however, the possibility of sending U.S. ground forces to the conflict area.

Of course, the United States and other members of the "Yugoslav" Group of Five decided to leave open the possibility of "taking new, tougher steps" while retaining possible decisive measures in their arsenal.

It is evident that this is a completely different viewpoint from the clearly anti-Serb stance that the United States maintained as early as one or two weeks ago. Well, this is what is called realism, which was sufficiently demonstrated by Russia with regard to the Yugoslav crisis. The only regrettable thing, however, is that the chagrin caused by Russia's retaking the diplomatic initiative took on forms that appeared to have been forgotten after the demise of the Cold War. For instance, the Americans withheld the announcement about the meeting between our minister and President Clinton virtually until the last minute. Furthermore, it was, I think, the first time in history that the latter received Kozyrev not in the Oval Office, but by dropping, as if by chance, into the office of his national security adviser. As a matter of fact, Russian journalists were not allowed into the White House courtyard, also under a clearly specious pretext. [passage omitted]

Churkin Arrives in Belgrade for Talks With Yugoslav Leaders

LD2405151693 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1457 GMT 24 May 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Aleksandr Kondrashov]

[Text] Belgrade May 24 TASS—Vitaliy Churkin, deputy foreign minister and special representative of the Russian president, arrived here today. During his stay in Belgrade, he will hold a regular round of talks with the leaders of Yugoslavia, Serbia and the Bosnian Serbs.

In an ITAR-TASS interview, Churkin said he intends to acquaint the aforementioned leaders with the content of the programme of joint actions to end the war in Bosnia and Herzegovina, which was adopted by the foreign ministers of the United States, Russia, Britain, France and Spain at their recent meeting in Washington.

Asked about the causes of the Bosnian Moslem community leaders' negative attitude to the "Yugoslav five" 's programme, Churkin said they evidently are not acquainted well enough with the text of this document. In his view, the leaders of the Serbian community, whose reaction was conversely positive, also lack full information.

On the problem of deploying international observers on the borders with Bosnia and the Yugoslav leadership's contradictory attitude to it, Churkin said Russia favours control over both Yugoslav and Croat border with Bosnia, seeing in this one of the ways towards the termination of clashes between the warring sides.

Commentary Says New Efforts Needed on Yugoslav Issue

LD2405163293 Moscow Programma Radio Odin Network in Russian 1430 GMT 24 May 93

[Commentary by Mayak diplomatic correspondent Viktor Levin]

[Excerpts] As you no doubt know, the week-long foreign tour of Russian Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev aimed at settling the situation in Bosnia and Herzegovina has ended. Here is what Mayak diplomatic correspondent Viktor Levin has transmitted specially for New Wave:

[Levin] [passage omitted: U.S. torpedoes Security Council session] The fact is that the U.S. position differed rather sharply in this instance from that of all the other—all the other—partners on a Yugoslav settlement.

The Americans said that because the UN measures undertaken hitherto have been ineffective they are proposing to start military intervention, to mount bombing strikes, perhaps undertake some other measures on the ground. At the same time, they are reserving for themselves the role of only air cover or aerial bombing.

The Americans reason this way: Yes, Yugoslavia—former Yugoslavia—needs an end to the bloodshed, but we are not going to send our guys there because that is risky. This is the picture which is taking shape:

The United States proposes decisive action and is prepared to mount bombing strikes, but on the ground all responsibility for the ensuing consequences must be borne by others. [passage omitted: German Foreign Minister Kinkel's objections to this]

The U.S. position is thus different [from that of the Europeans], and it is not just that they want to force the others to pull the chestnuts out of the fire. As I see it, the fact is primarily that the crisis in former Yugoslavia will not be solved by military means. Political means have to be sought. This is the aim of all the efforts being made, not only by Russian diplomats but also by diplomats of West European countries and other states.

The Americans did not like their proposals being turned down and their reaction was, in my view, like that of kids playing in a sand pit: Take your toys away because I'm not playing with you any more. I am not going to the Security Council at foreign minister level, Christopher

said. [passage omitted: The compromise adopted by the foreign ministers of the five states on former Yugoslavia shows a realization that the problem can only be solved by political means]

Yes, a new situation is now taking shape. It is now hard to talk of the implementation of the Vance-Owen Plan. Obviously, new, different efforts should be made. And Russian diplomats intend to make such efforts in the near future.

'Joint Action Program' on Yugoslavia Analyzed

PM2505081193 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 25 May 93 First Edition p 1

[Aleksandr Shalnev report: "International Community Still Refraining From Military Action in Former Yugoslavia"]

[Text] Washington—The foreign ministers of the countries of the so-called "Yugoslav five"—Russia, the United States, France, Britain, and Spain—have reached agreement as a result of intensive consultations in Washington and New York on a "joint action program" aimed at bringing an end to the conflict in the former Yugoslavia.

The program comprises 13 points and is to a significant extent, although not exclusively, based on the proposals and initiatives put forward by the West Europeans and Russia as a counterweight to the views and ideas of the Americans, who did, however, sign the program.

Indeed, the key importance of this document is that the allies and partners on both sides of the Atlantic were able—after several months of public and behind-the-scenes disputes—to put on a show of unity in their approach to the resolution of Yugoslavia's problems.

Analyzing the program, we cannot fail to note that it makes no mention of the "consistent approach" to resolving the conflict which Moscow had insisted on—but which had been categorically rejected from the outset by Washington—nor does it mention lifting the embargo on arms shipments to the Bosnian Muslims (something that the U.S. Administration had actively striven for). Indeed, Point 13 says that the sides reserve the right to review the question of what "further and tougher measures" may be taken. This point, diplomats believe, to a certain extent gives the Americans a free hand in the event of Congress upping the pressure on the White House by demanding vigorous action in the former Yugoslavia.

Apart from traditional provisions such as continuing to provide humanitarian aid to the people of Bosnia, maintaining the sanctions brought in against Serbia and Montenegro by the UN Security Council, and maintaining no-fly zones over Bosnia, the joint program is important in that it represents a five-sided agreement on a number of relatively new points. These are the readiness to deploy (with Belgrade's consent) military observers along the Bosnia-Herzegovina border, and the creation of additional "security zones" on the basis of the corresponding Security Council resolution.

It is important, the diplomats believe, that the program includes a provision on the United States' readiness to "carry out its obligations in ensuring the protection of UN troops in the security zones in the event of their being attacked and asking for help." It is thought that the United States would use aviation. What is no less important, however, is that, first, it is a question merely of protecting the troops, not the population in the security zones, and that, second, the United States has again categorically stated its reluctance to send U.S. troops to serve with the UN peacekeeping forces in Bosnia. As Secretary of State Warren Christopher noted, between America and the allies there is a "clear division of labor—U.S. aircraft have taken on the very great responsibility of guaranteeing no-fly zones over Bosnia and of airdropping food and medicine."

Demonstrating for the umpteenth time just how fragile is the unity between the allies and how short-term their current joint action program may be as well, Alain Juppe, Christopher's French colleague, objected sharply: "I disagree with the so-called division of labor between those in the sky and those on the ground. I would like all the great powers to assume the proper responsibility."

The fact that there are still differences in the ranks of the "Yugoslav five" was seen, apart from anything else, in President Clinton's refusal to receive the Russian foreign minister in the Oval Office. Clinton did meet with Kozyrev, but it was as if by chance—the President "popped in" to the office of his National Security Assistant Anthony Lake, when he was receiving our minister.

According to my information, this move by the Americans will not be without its consequences: When Warren Christopher next comes to Moscow and requests a meeting with our president, he will be given exactly the same reception. Maybe even worse.

Experts are predicting that the five-sided program could be a two-edged sword for Russia—on the one hand, the agreement could be seen as a success for our diplomacy, which has on the whole succeeded in sticking to its guns; on the other hand, we have essentially backed the Clinton administration into a corner, making it agree to ideas which prompt no enthusiasm either in the administration itself or (more importantly) on Capitol Hill.

KRASNAYA ZVEZDA Views New U.S. Ambassador

PM2405122193 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 22 May 93 p 6

[Mikhail Pogorelyy article: "Ambassador Pickering's Hour of Glory"]

[Excerpts] King Husayn said of him: "He is the best U.S. ambassador I have ever encountered." The Jordanian monarch has been on the throne more than 40 years and has met with many diplomats, and the objectivity of his assessment of Thomas Pickering's professional qualities can evidently be trusted. On 20 May Pickering, U.S. ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary to Russia, arrived in Moscow—at his new service location, as the saying goes.

In general, it has to be acknowledged that Washington takes a very thorough approach to the question of selecting the U.S. ambassador to our country. In recent years alone—the "perestroyka" years—the U.S. diplomatic mission in Moscow has been headed by Jack Matlock, a skilled politician, philologist, fine art expert, and insistent champion of Washington administration policy, and then by Robert Strauss, an experienced economist, prominent party figure in the States, personal friend of the president, and millionaire. The incumbent President declared on selecting his envoy to Russia: "I want our country to be represented in Moscow by a very experienced diplomat who is devoted to his work. Ambassador Pickering has proved during his career that he possesses the abilities and the wisdom to fulfill this important mission. I have complete faith in him." To this it is possible to add probably just one thing—probably only Secretary of State Christopher himself is more experienced in the U.S. Department of State today. [passage omitted]

In unofficial conversations, diplomat acquaintances have told me that there is a kind of "professional disease" among them whereby a diplomat, having gotten used to the country where he is staying and to the concerns of its people, loses objectivity imperceptibly to himself and involuntarily associates himself with the state in which he must represent for his own country and where, however hard this might be, he must be above the stratagems of political intrigues and not take any side's position. Thomas Pickering cannot be accused of suffering from this "disease," and it is not by chance that he is called a professional diplomat. In Israel he did not fight shy of pointing to human rights violations in the occupied Arab territories or discussing (and condemning) cases of espionage by Israelis in the United States. There he was even nicknamed the "hostile ambassador of a friendly state."

Incidentally, in El Salvador the U.S. ambassador was equally principled in exposing the fascist terror of the "death squads," despite the fact that the Reagan administration tried to shut its eyes to such actions by right-wing forces. It is said that Washington even tried to hold Pickering responsible for...the Farabundo Marti Front's election victory. But he was only fulfilling his duties honestly. President Reagan recognized this by appointing the diplomat of 30 years standing the U.S. representative at the United Nations in 1989. His services were also recognized in the words with which Ronald Reagan explained his choice: He is one of most outstanding employees of the U.S. state.

Thomas Pickering received the highest assessment from his colleagues in New York where this is by no means easy to achieve since the flower of world diplomacy is represented at the UN headquarters. Pickering's professional talent was revealed most fully while he was the U.S. representative in the community of nations. Of course, the overall change in the political situation in the world, the policy of rejecting confrontation, and the policy of cooperation and partnership played their part in turning the United Nations from a "big talking-shop" into a working organ to coordinate the efforts of many states in resolving the most acute and most painful common problems. But tribute must also be paid to the patience, restraint, and persistence of specific people, of emissaries of all the UN member countries, and of the Security Council in particular. The figure of Pickering stands out clearly and distinctly in this process. Fortunately for many people, he developed a trusting relationship with Yuliy Vorontsov, the Soviet and then the Russian representative.

It has no documentary proof, but there is a story which maintains that it was precisely Pickering's successes in the diplomatic field that occasioned his transfer from New York to the appreciably less prestigious post of ambassador to India a year ago. A paradox? A perfectly explicable phenomenon, if you recall that Baker, who was secretary of state at the time, preferred to see himself in the honorable place of First Diplomat. The flames were fueled by colleagues who acknowledged Pickering as "the most brilliant U.S. diplomat" and "the best diplomat of his generation." In addition, almost every day there were television interviews and front-page newspaper photographs, particularly at the time of the Persian Gulf crisis. He has diverse interests, knows five foreign languages (French, Spanish, Arabic, Hebrew, and Swahili), is keen on archeology, is able to make apt jokes.... I do not know whether James Baker was motivated by envy, jealousy, or something else. But Pickering was transferred to Delhi precisely on his say-so.

His career might have ended quite quietly and calmly in India. But these are new times in Washington and new ambassadors are being sent all over the world. Specialists believe that Clinton's choice is designed to demonstrate both to Moscow itself and the rest of the world what significance the President of America attaches to his country's relations with Russia and the level to which he wishes to raise them. From the first attempts to reach agreement—sometimes not very successful, sometimes simply too timid—the Russian and U.S. leaders have confidently embarked on a path of collaboration and cooperation. This applies to the most complex problems—not only problems of bilateral relations. Washington, for example, openly acknowledges that Russia's interests and its role and prestige in the Balkan region must definitely be taken into account when resolving the Yugoslav question. A mutual desire to continue close collaboration in peacemaking actions was expressed during Secretary of State Christopher's recent talks with Russia's leadership.

Thomas Pickering is now actively joining in this process of formulating collaboration (the post of U.S. ambassador to Russia had been vacant for 6 months following the dismissal of Robert Strauss). President Clinton says that he considers it the most important task today to give assistance to Russian friends building democratic institutions and a free market system. This, Clinton believes, is truly a task worthy of Ambassador Pickering's talent.

Armenia's Ter-Petrosyan Meets With Yeltsin, Comments

LD2505095693 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 0900 GMT 25 May 93

[Text] Russia and Armenia are fully implementing the UN Security Council's decisions on Nagorno-Karabakh. Armenian President Levon Ter-Petrosyan made this statement today after a conversation in the Kremlin with Russian President Boris Yeltsin. In reply to a question on the unilateral cease-fire by Azerbaijan in the Nagorno-Karabakh Republic, Levon Ter-Petrosyan said that Nagorno-Karabakh has not carried out military action now for 15 days. In the words of the Armenian president, as cited by the RIA agency, Azerbaijani President Abulfaz Elchibey's initiative is thus one of response.

Yeltsin To Meet Armenia's Ter-Petrosyan 25 May

LD2405211693 Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel Network in Russian 2027 GMT 24 May 93

[From the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] Armenia's President Levon Ter-Petrosyan will have a meeting with Boris Yeltsin in Moscow on 25 May. It is not known what subjects are to be discussed, but official Yerevan denies that these will include the Armenian-Azerbaijani conflict. At present, Armenia has not given its response to the Russian-American-Turkish plan to end the war. However, in the view of the republic's Foreign Ministry, this plan is closer to Armenia's position than the first version of the same document.

Military Procurator Criticizes Azeri Court

LD2405202593 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1800 GMT 24 May 93

[Text] Hundreds of Russian servicemen are currently in the zone of the Abkhaz conflict. They are soldiers of regular units, and evidently they will have to leave the territory of this sovereign state sooner or later. One would like to hope that their fate will not turn out to be as harsh as the fate of the six Russian soldiers who, following our units' withdrawal from the zone of the Karabakh conflict, remained there as mercenaries. It is known that they were sentenced to death by an Azerbaijani court for subversion.

Yelena Sandomirskaya endeavored to find out about their fate at the Embassy of Azerbaijan in Moscow and at the General Procuracy of Russia. Fuad Hajiyev, an Embassy representative, emphasized that the court proceedings were legally irreproachable and followed all the norms of the law. Rafik Ibragimov, Russia's chief military procurator, does not quite agree with him.

[Begin Ibragimov recording] Crude violations of the laws of criminal procedure were permitted at the stage of the preliminary investigation and in the course of the examination of the case by the court. These violations restricted the opportunity of the accused in exercising their right to be defended. The law forbids one lawyer to defend several persons. Unfortunately, this was the case this time. Lawyers defended two or three people at a time. Specific actions of specific people must be mentioned. After all, how many people lost their lives because of the Armenian fighters? Why is it that these five men [as heard] are being blamed for all these losses? The law demands that charges be specific. This was not done. With such shortcomings, the court had no right to begin to deal with the case. [end recording]

[Sandomirskaya] Nonetheless, the question arises of what fate awaits our six fellow countrymen? Fuad Hajiyev said that the Azerbaijani side would prefer not to be subjected to what is, at times, crude pressure which sometimes emanates from Russia. He had Defense Minister Grachev's speech in mind. We demand, said Hajiyev, that Russia officially condemn the participation of its mercenaries in this war. However, there are fine points here, and Rafik Ibragimov, representing the Russian Military Procuracy, speaks of them:

[Begin Ibragimov recording] While the sentence passed by the Military Collegium of the Supreme Court of Azerbaijan remains in force, there can be no question of extradition. [end recording]

Pastukhov Says UN, CSCE Aid Needed To End Abkhaz War

LD2105141593 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1353 GMT 21 May 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Irina Shchegoleva]

[Text] Sochi May 21 TASS—The scheme to set up tripartite peace-keeping forces to comprise Georgian, Abkhazian and Russian servicemen, which was conceived in Moscow, is unreal for today, a senior Russian Foreign Ministry official told ITAR-TASS at Sochi Airport today.

It is obvious that people who fought each other so ferociously and for such a long time are now unable to stand shoulder-to-shoulder as peace-keepers. Evidently, other variants of introducing peace-keeping forces—with the aid of the United Nations and CSCE—will need to be studied, said Boris Pastukhov, deputy foreign minister and special representative of the Russian president.

He heads a group of Foreign Ministry officials which returned from a trip to Gudauta and Sukhumi today.

The goal of the trip was to assist the settlement of the Georgian-Abkhazian conflict.

According to Pastukhov, a special representative of the U.N. secretary-general headed to Tbilisi to help solve the problem of the peace-keeping forces' composition. He plans to visit Sukhumi and Gudauta. Ministry officials do not rule out the possibility of involving a military contingent of CIS states in the peace-keeping force to be deployed in this region.

"The main result of the first days of our joint work has been the secession of fire by both sides. But this work only get under way," Pastukhov said.

Yeltsin Envoy Cited on Abkhazia Cease-Fire

PM2405134393 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 22 May 93 p 2

[Interview with Russian Deputy Foreign Minister Boris Pastukhov by Gennadiy Bochkarev; presumably in Moscow 21 May: "Abkhazia Without Shooting?"—first paragraph is introduction]

[Text] Boris Pastukhov, Russian Federation deputy minister of foreign affairs and B. Yeltsin's personal representative with regard to settling the Georgian-Abkhaz conflict, returned from Gudauta yesterday.

"It is necessary to reinforce the accords reached between Yeltsin and Shevardnadze on Moscow 14 May," Pastukhov said in an interview for KOMOSMOLSKAYA PRAVDA. "There has virtually been a cease-fire on the line of confrontation. We reached agreement with the sides: Let them prepare their own proposals for settling the conflict. For so far they have, for the most part, rejected what intermediaries have suggested."

[Bochkarev] What will Russia's further steps be?

[Pastukhov] We want to propose specific mechanisms for separating troops and withdrawing heavy hardware from the conflict zone.

[Bochkarev] Is provision being made to send in a peacemaking force?

[Pastukhov] The structure for a peacemaking force as defined in last year's Moscow agreements between Shevardnadze, Yeltsin, and Ardzinba is probably unrealistic now. I mean the trilateral force of Georgia, Russia, and Abkhazia. This has virtually been recognized by both sides. Nevertheless, we cannot manage without a peacemaking force....

[Bochkarev] Could this be UN "blue helmets"?

[Pastukhov] A special representative of the UN secretary general arrived in the conflict zone recently. I believe that the sides will put before him the question of a peacemaking force of the United Nations or the CSCE. Not that the option of involving CIS troop contingents is ruled out.... [Pastukhov ends]

Nonetheless, the truce in Abkhazia is still too unstable. The Gudauta leadership regards the withdrawal of Georgian troops as the chief condition for peace. But this is a highly complex problem, because local residents are keeping up the defense of Sukhumi, and they simply have nowhere to go.

Tajik Delegation Arrives in Moscow; Treaties To Be Signed

LD2405162193 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1607 GMT 24 May 93

[By ITAR-TASS diplomatic correspondent Boris Krivoshey]

[Text] Moscow May 24 TASS—The Tajik state delegation headed by Republican Parliament Chairman Imamali Rakhmanov arrived in Moscow today for talks with the leaders of the Russian Federation. The delegation also includes Tajik Prime Minister Abdumalik Abdullodzhanov.

A range of bilateral Tajik-Russian documents, among them a treaty of friendship, cooperation and mutual assistance between the Russian Federation and the Republic of Tajikistan are expected to be signed upon the results of the talks.

Ubaydullayev Previews Friendship Treaty

LD2505082693 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0657 GMT 25 May 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Andrey Naryshkin]

[Text] Moscow May 25 TASS—"The treaty of friendship and cooperation with Russia, which is expected to be signed today at the Russo-Tajik summit, is regarded by the Tajik leadership as a guarantee of stability and further political reforms in the Republic, which has embarked upon the road of building up a secular, law-governed and democratic state," Vice-Chairman of the Tajik Council of Ministers Mukhammad Said Ubaydullayev, who arrived here as member of the Tajik state delegation, told ITAR-TASS in an exclusive interview on Monday. He stressed that this document would be the first full-scale inter-state political treaty, "concluded after the restoration of the constitutional system in Tajikistan and after the election of its lawful government".

"We know that there are many difficulties ahead of us, but thanks to the assistance of CIS nations, primarily Russia, the present government, headed by a nationally recognised leader, will firmly adhere to the course of promoting economic reforms," Ubaydullayev stated.

Rakhmonov Comments

LD2405212593 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1800 GMT 24 May 93

[Text] A state delegation of Tajikistan, led by Imamali Rakhmonov, chairman of the republic's Supreme Soviet, arrived in Moscow on Monday. It is planned that a treaty on friendship and cooperation between Russia and Tajikistan will be signed and a number of issues relating to defense cooperation will be discussed. Over to Anton Grishin:

[Grishin] The treaty will be concluded for a term of five years, and it will be possible to extend it automatically. It is expected that a package of eight economic documents and some issues relating to military cooperation will be discussed. Russia and Tajikistan will take obligations upon themselves in regards to coordinating their actions in the sphere of economic reform. In accordance with the treaty, Russia and Tajikistan intend to build their relations as friendly states and will cooperate in strengthening peace and increasing stability and security on the global as well as regional scale.

In an interview given to your correspondent immediately on his arrival in Moscow, Imamali Rakhmonov said, in particular:

[Begin Rakhmonov recording] We have come to Moscow in order to sign a treaty on friendship, cooperation, and mutual assistance between the two states. The delegation and the people of Tajikistan expect, one might say, truly historic results from this meeting because this is the first time that a bilateral treaty and agreement are being signed. Tajikistan cannot imagine the CIS without Russia taking part in it. Whether we like it or not, in many countries the development of national economy and of all fields generally are very closely interwoven with Russia. We will see what comes next. [end recording]

Government To Send Aid to Tajikistan

LD2505093993 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0803 GMT 25 May 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Ivan Ivanov]

[Text] Moscow May 25 TASS—The Government of Russia has issued an instruction to render aid to the population of the Republic of Tajikistan, hit by natural calamities.

According to the document, two tonnes of medicines, worth four million roubles, ten tonnes of sugar, one tonne of tea, five tonnes of macaroni products, twenty tonnes of flour, and twenty tonnes of cereals have been allocated as priority aid to the Republic. It will also include three hundred sets of army tents. All these goods are to be sent to Tajikistan immediately by military-transport aviation.

Two billion roubles will be granted to Tajikistan as interest-free aid from the reserve fund of the Russian Government to do away with the consequences of natural calamities. The Republic will also be granted a credit to buy foodstuffs and technical supplies in the Russian Federation.

Russian, Kazakh Leaders Conference Opens in Omsk

LD2405101193 Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel Network in Russian 0800 GMT 24 May 93

[From the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] A conference of leaders from the neighboring territories of Russia and Kazakhstan opened today in Omsk. Opening the session, [Deputy Prime Minister] Sergey Shakhray said that Russia is demonstrating its interest in strengthening links with Kazakhstan and is ready to adopt decisions that will help the two states to restore and strengthen their economic, scientific, and technical cooperation.

Pointing to the attention given by the Russian Government to economic aspects of reform, Sergey Shakhray noted that the creation of associations for interregional cooperation between neighboring territories of Russia and Kazakhstan will play an important role in maintaining social equilibrium in these regions and will help to make the border a zone of cooperation and normal human communication. In the deputy prime minister's opinion, the government's role in the process is to make legal provisions for this cooperation.

It is expected that when a treaty is signed today on the creation of interregional associations, the 11 Russian oblasts and krays and nine oblasts of Kazakhstan will be joined by the Siberian Agreement association and the association for economic interaction in the Ural region. A mechanism will be worked out for implementing the adopted accords, and an executive administration set up for a new economic, scientific, technical, and cultural alliance.

Border Force in Kazakhstan May 'Fall Apart'

PM2505084193 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 20 May 93 First Edition p 7

[Sergey Skorokhodov and Vladimir Tyurkin article under "Our Correspondents Report" rubric and "Foreign Mailbag: From All Around the Globe" general heading: "One Border for Two Powers"]

[Text] Almaty—The control-checkpoint at Khorgos is more like the stopping place of a battered caravan. Only instead of camels and donkeys, there are Zil and Zhiguli cars. The "merchants," hanging around for hours on end in lines at the border between Kazakhstan and China owing to the delays and disorder in these mechanized, putrid gypsy camps, try every which way to clear customs. Only among the "green caps" does order prevail.

As always, they are above the confusion—everything is "by the book." As always, the blue-eyed and fair-haired are in the majority.

In line with an agreement between Moscow and Almaty, first Union, then Russian, and today Kazakh border troops have switched to Kazakhstan National Security Committee jurisdiction. As before, they guard one border—the southern border. And, as before, the Russian-Kazakh border is "transparent" from both sides.

This section of the former Union border, unlike certain others, is calm. At any rate, it is nothing like the border with Tajikistan, where the situation is quite the opposite [zerkalnyy]—there it is not peaceful "commuters" and "vacuum cleaners" [people crossing the border on a visitor's visa to return with consumer goods] who pop up along the length and breadth of the bordering Pyandzh River, but Afghan mujahidin and Tajik gunmen, crazed from living in the barrenness of steppe camps or on the Pamir glaciers. There, the border troops are remaining under Russian jurisdiction for the time being. Every day there is crossfire, and, of course, bloodshed.

But here, Allah be praised, the sergeant by the barriers is laughing—the battle concerns the customs houses alone. Nevertheless, this is a surface calm, and it crumbles during the first frank conversation with the "guardians of the Motherland."

It would seem that the switch in subordination did not work in the troops' favor. In practice they have started to fall apart. We cannot judge whose guilt is greater here—Moscow's or Almaty's. Let us listen to what Russian senior officers and the Kazakh commander think.

Incidentally, in many ways their views coincide. The former express views to the effect that, given that the overwhelming majority of officers and a significant proportion of the men are Russian-speaking, the general language norms of the Kazakhstan Republic—where Kazakh alone is the state language and where, without some knowledge of it, it is unrealistic to expect advancement in military service—should be adjusted to take account of the specifics of military work. Otherwise the situation will become an impasse.

By the end of May, the last of the Russian draftees will have completed their term of service and the entire draft will be Kazakh. Officers are voicing fears that Kazakh soldiers may exploit the provision enshrined in law on the "language of address," according to which a chief is obliged to reply to a subordinate in the same language in which he is addressed. Regular slovenliness—above and beyond all politics or nationalism—may spread uncontrollably. Now, at a time when discipline everywhere is on the decline even without the linguistic nuances, Russian-speaking officers feel a little uncomfortable. "Lieutenant, Sir! Be so kind as to converse with me in the state language!"—This demand from a soldier is a very real prospect, and a lieutenant has no grounds on which to object to it.

In short, as of tomorrow, anywhere on the ladder—upward and downward—a knowledge of Kazakh will be a must. This became clear today. Nevertheless, for an adult military individual, mastering a new language perfectly is tantamount to acquiring another profession. Many are asking themselves: Do I really need this? In general, the accelerated Kazakhization of the Army is doing little to help matters. Under the Union, 1,730 Kazakh officers served. All were offered the chance to move back to the historical motherland, and on good terms. The defense minister made a few calls. One in six agreed...

When work was under way in the Supreme Soviet on the law on military service, the original version expounded the idea that, with due account of the international [internatsionalnyy] nature of the personnel and the peculiarities of the service period, the language of command, information, and instruction should be the language of interethnic communication—Russian. However, this proposal was laid to rest again in the commissions.

There are other brain-teasers—the need, in line with Russian legislation, to return to Russia before the end of 1994 so as not to interrupt the service period; the absence in Kazakhstan of the right to dual citizenship for non-Kazakhs; and poor social protection. Morale in the officers' corps has been lost. Some are packing their bags, others are sounding out the authorities, relatives, and friends in Russia. Take this commonplace detail—at one time an officer in the border guards could expect an apartment within a year, whereas now he has to wait between four and five years.

At the same time, this border would seem to be of use not only to Kazakhstan, but to Russia as well. To all intents and purposes it represents their common, established southern boundary. Is there really no chance of sorting the situation out before it becomes uncontrollable? Even now there is nobody to take charge of security detachments and other units. The first to leave are the lieutenants and captains—the pillars of the forces. They are not rooted in these places by apartments or dachas, or by the graves of their nearest and dearest, and they no longer see any future. If Kazakhstan has put its foot down over the issue of language, and Russia is not going to consider service here as legitimate, then to hell with them all—this is the heartfelt cry from the young commander, and it is understandable. He is not the one organizing these games. He thought that security everywhere was the same thing.

But what about the Kazakh commander? We chatted with Major General Bolat Zakiyev. He shares many of the Russian officers' concerns, with the possible exception of the language worry. A provision in law is a provision in law. But he agrees that the situation in the border troops is approaching the critical. In his opinion, the local law on military service is more lenient, as it allows Kazakhs to serve on all former USSR territory for an unspecified time with the right to receive a pension and all benefits in Kazakhstan. But, in the commander's

view, in any event, Russian servicemen are being egged on from Moscow: "Everybody, come back to Russia!" In some cases, obviously, this may be explained from the viewpoint of Russia's national interests, but in this case, the general believes, there is some degree of overlap—it is still unclear whether the border is more important to Moscow or to Almaty.

Here we agree with the commander. And we believe that there is something to think about in both capitals.

Soskovets on Integration of Kazakh, Russian Economies

LD2505093193 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0855 GMT 25 May 93

[By ITAR-TASS parliamentary correspondent Ivan Novikov]

[Text] Moscow May 25 TASS—"The governments of Russia and Kazakhstan are now creating the necessary prerequisites for integrating their economies in accordance with the new relations that are now taking shape. The economies of Russia and Kazakhstan call for new approaches to the shaping of their production relations," First Vice-Chairman of the Russian Council of Ministers Oleg Soskovets today told a meeting of the Interparliamentary Commission on Cooperation between the Parliaments of Russia and Kazakhstan. He stressed that any "attempt to restore on previous conditions the command relations that had existed for a long period of time, will be to no avail".

"Our current meeting," he said, "marks an important milestone on the way to the successful implementation of these relations. Its purpose is to lay the legislative foundation that will allow us to create the necessary conditions for the mutual development of our economies, primarily for turning enterprises into joint-stock societies and for setting up inter-state corporations or concerns."

"Russia and Kazakhstan," Soskovets noted, "were able to keep up their relations in metallurgy and machine-building. Much efforts are being exerted today to prevent enterprises of the defence complex, which are now experiencing much difficulties, from being abandoned in the course of the ongoing conversion. The plans drawn up in industry boil down to the creation of supranational structures, which will help strengthen the national economies of Russia and Kazakhstan on the basis of direct production, commercial and technical ties."

"Such a reorganisation," Soskovets believes, "should be carried out primarily in the fundamental sectors of the two states, which have traditional production and economic relations, primarily in metallurgy and coal industry. On the initiative of the Russian Government, work has been under way for two months now to set up on a bilateral basis a 'union of coal and steel'. An association for the joint mining and processing of copper has already been set up. Proposals are being studied to jointly switch over defence sectors of industry to civilian rails. Much interest is being evinced by Russian petrochemists in the development of Kazakhstan's oil and gas deposits."

Soskovets said that problems of perfecting financial and crediting relations, establishing an adequate system for mutual settlements, were among the main snags in the development of cooperation between the two states.

General Prosecutor Signs Cooperation Agreement With Ukraine

PM2505111393 Moscow ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI in Russian 25 May 93 p 2

["Own information" report: "Legal Assistance Agreement"]

[Text] The Information and Public Relations Center of the Russian Federation General Prosecutor's Office has reported that on 21 May, Russian General Prosecutor V. Stepankov and Ukrainian General Prosecutor V. Shishkin signed an agreement on legal assistance and cooperation.

The agreement provides, in particular, that the sides will give each other assistance in investigating crimes, carrying out individual procedural actions, and examining citizens' complaints relating to criminal cases. This document opens up great prospects for cooperation on matters relating to the fight against crime, the search for persons who have committed crimes and are evading investigation and trial, and the transportation [etapirovaniye] of detainees and convicts. Special attention is devoted to practical questions involved in Prosecutor's Office supervision of compliance with legislation on environmental conservation.

Results of Grachev's Lithuania Trip Noted

PM2505101393 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 22 May 93 p 1

[Sergey Knyazkov report: "Troop Withdrawal from Baltic: Lithuania's Example Shows That Problems Can Be Solved"]

[Text] As is well known, Russia's political relations with the Baltic countries are still a long way from meeting international standards on many issues, particularly the withdrawal of our troops. Frequently this stems from the Baltic states' rigid, uncompromising policy, both in the sphere of observing the rights of the Russian-speaking population and on issues of our army's presence in those countries. But it is now possible to say that the united "Baltic front" has been breached.

This was the chief result of the visit to Lithuania by Army General Pavel Grachev, Russian minister of defense. It must be pointed out that our delegation's positions in all the talks in Vilnius and Kaunas were

primarily backed up by the fact that the Russian-Lithuanian protocol, which was signed 8 September 1992 and provides for the Russian troops' withdrawal from the republic's territory by 1 September 1993, is being complied with unswervingly.

But something else is known too: Only relatively recently, there was no chance of such a breakthrough in relations between the two countries. The previous Government of Lithuania took an overtly incorrect stand on the Russian Federation's troops, refusing to make any compromises. This was why the signing of the main juridical document—a political agreement on the Russian troops' withdrawal—was thwarted last year.

A great deal began to change in our relations after Algirdas Brazauskas was elected president of Lithuania. The new leadership approached with understanding the wishes expressed by the Russian side—above all, the wish for a humane attitude toward the Russian Federation Defense Ministry's pensioners staying on to reside in the republic. It was because of this that the Russian defense minister's trip to Lithuania was made possible.

The leaders of the two countries' defense departments discussed 18 military-technical issues connected with the Russian troop withdrawal and resolved almost all of them successfully. Thus, the procedure for the handover of military installations was defined—the Russian military is handing them over with a definition of value. An accord was reached to set up joint ventures based on the tank repair enterprise and the aviation equipment repair plant in Kaunas.

To date, 54 percent of the Russian troops have been withdrawn from Lithuania. But because of the large quantities of ammunition, fuel, and military property and the insufficient rolling stock, it will not be possible to withdraw some of the property from Lithuania by 31 August. The sides agreed to leave it at dumps under the supervision of responsible Russian persons and under guard by the Lithuanian Army. But Army General Pavel Grachev gave an assurance that these stocks will also be withdrawn from the republic's territory before the end of 1993.

The order of the handover of five military airfields was established. Siauliai Airfield is already being handed over, and it is planned to hand over Panevezys Airfield before 1 July and the last of the airfields before 31 August. At the same time there is an accord on the sale of radar equipment at Siauliai Airfield to Lithuania.

The Russian defense minister declared that the question of continuing the studies of Lithuanian citizens in Russian military academies and schools was examined. They will be able to graduate from these military educational institutions. Moreover, as of this year, Lithuanian youths will be accepted for training at Ryazan Airborne Command School and Kaliningrad Naval School. The possibility of the further participation of Lithuanian specialists in the construction of housing for Russian servicemen withdrawn from Lithuania was discussed. I will add that, at the request of the Russian delegation (the request was made by Admiral Vladimir Yegorov, commander of the Baltic Fleet, who accompanied the Russian defense minister on the tour of Lithuania), the Lithuanian Seimas in the person of Ceslovas Jursenas, its chairman, promised to exempt Lithuanian construction workers from taxes while fulfilling the Russian order.

There were, however, questions which the leaders of the two states' defense departments referred for examination to the government delegations holding talks in Vilnius while Pavel Grachev was making his visit to Lithuania. But Lithuanian President Algirdas Brazauskas emphasized during his meeting with Pavel Grachev that Lithuania will endeavor to take Russia's proposals and wishes into consideration, although it will not be easy to realize some of them.

How such a considerate approach to the problem of the Russian troop withdrawal is lacking in Latvia and Estonia! But the success of the talks with Lithuania largely determined the Russian Federation defense minister's positions at his meetings with the leaders of the Latvian and Estonian military departments, who came specially to Vilnius. Both Talavs Jundzis and Hain Rebas proposed meeting with Pavel Grachev because, according to them, they were disappointed with the course of the state delegations' talks and hoped to be able to tackle specific tasks with their Russian colleague. But in their proposals neither of them was able to get away from their parliaments' political decisions, which set the date for the Russian troops' final withdrawal from their states' territory at the end of 1993. In reply, it was declared quite toughly that Russian troops would remain on the spot until the signing of the main political documents approved by the presidents of the contracting countries.

Nevertheless, I believe that the example of Lithuania must prompt both Latvia and Estonia to think about the need for a political solution, above all, to the problem of the Russian troop withdrawal.

General Protests to Latvia, Estonia Over Detentions

LD2405212093 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1900 GMT 24 May 93

[From the "Vesti" newscast]

[Text] Colonel General Leonid Mayorov, commander of the Northwestern Group of Forces deployed in the Baltic states, protested today to Anatolijs Gorbunovs, chairman of the Latvian Supreme Soviet, and to Lennart Meri, president of Estonia, over the detention of a mayor and a private in the Russian Army without clear reasons being given, and also over an attempt undertaken in Tallinn during the evening of 23 May by four Estonian citizens to get inside the territory of artillery dumps. One person was wounded and one detained after the watchman used his weapon.

Yeltsin Greets African Leaders on Liberation Day

LD2505105093 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1015 GMT 25 May 93

[Text] Moscow, 25 May (ITAR-TASS)— Here follows the text of Boris Yeltsin's message to the heads of state and government and peoples of the countries of Africa:

"On the occasion of Africa Liberation Day and the 30th anniversary of the Organization of African Unity, I send congratulations and sincere greetings to the heads of state and government and the peoples of the continent.

"Africa is currently playing an increasingly active and weighty role in international politics. Without the participation of African countries it is impossible to create an integrated and stable world system, to resolve global problems in an integrated way, or to develop all-embracing political, trading and humanitarian cooperation.

"Despite the serious difciculties it is going through in the process of democratic restructuring, Russia is not standing aside from the problems facing Africa. Independently and in conjunction with other states, within the context of the United Nations, we are taking part in settling regional conflicts, in seeking ways towards stable socioeconomic development, strengthening independence, and further democratization of the social life of the African countries.

"In the interests of resolving these sore problems, the Russian Federation is striving to expand constructive cooperation with the OAU and to maintain and deepen bilateral dialogue with the states of Africa.

"On the basis of the principles of taking mutual account of national interests, equality, and good-neighborly relations, and guided by present-day realities and by future prospects, Russia advocates putting new content into the friendly relations which have become established betweeen us. This is all the more important in that the social processes under way in most of the countries of Africa are consonant with the transformations in the Russian Federation, which have met with the support of Russian Federation citizens. By taking advantage of the existing mechanisms for links, the good traditions, and also the emergent market structures, we should stimulate the development of fruitful Russian-African cooperation in various spheres. I am confident that Russia and the states of Africa can respond courageously to the challenges of the time and ensure their peoples a worthy future."

Security Minister Barannikov Departs for Germany

LD2405144993 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1434 GMT 24 May 93

[Text] Moscow May 24 TASS—A delegation from the Russian Security Ministry led by Army General Viktor Barannikov, head of this establishment, left for Germany today.

The delegation will hold talks, a series of working meetings and consultations with officials of German secret services and law enforcement bodies. Among the problems discussed will be efforts to combat international terrorism, the unlawful proliferation of nuclear and conventional armaments and narcotics trafficking.

Barannikov noted that all issues which are expected to be discussed during the visit are of the exclusively professional nature. However, the political aspect of such talks cannot be underestimated as international terrorist and criminal structures pose equal danger to all countries of the world community. This fact inevitably entails the need to consolidate the activity of secret and law enforcement bodies.

Shokhin Cited on Trade Talks in London

PM2505101793 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 25 May 93 p 3

[Report by Pavel Bogomolov including interview with Aleksandr Shokhin, vice premier of the Russian Government: "Double Indemnity Needed in Dealings with Moscow, British Businessmen Believe"]

[Text] London, 24 May— "Is the pace of the development of economic ties between Moscow and London comparable with the dynamics of Russian-German or, say, Russian-Italian cooperation?" I asked Aleksandr Shokhin, vice premier of the Russian Government, this question. As head of a high-powered delegation of our business circles he has just conducted the second session of the intergovernmental committee on trade and investments in London.

I have to admit, the vice premier remarked, that Britain is not presently among Russia's leading Western partners either in the volume of current deals or in the rate of growth of trade and economic ties. For example, of the total number of joint ventures created by Russian and foreign firms, just 4 percent are with Britain. The leaders in our market are the Americans, the Germans, the Italians, and Southeast Asian countries. Nevertheless, recently, I would say, we have seen perceptible conditions emerging for the stepping up of Russo-British cooperation. The guarantee of that is the new $800 million line of credit designed to reinforce a number of important bilateral projects.

...If one were to highlight the memorable feature of A. Shokhin's talks and meetings in London with Foreign Secretary D. Hurd, Chancellor of the Exchequer N. Lamont, and Trade and Industry Secretary M. Heseltine, then clearly the banal phrase about "two sides of the coin" would seem extremely appropriate. On the one hand, the success of the present talks is evident. Accord has been reached on British finance (with the appropriate guarantees) for a number of major programs. They include deliveries of compressor stations for Siberian gas pipelines from the world-famous company Rolls-Royce,

the construction of an international terminal at Domodedovo airport, and the modernization of the Moscow telephone network with the participation of the British company BTP.

Whereas previously in London attempts were made to rigidly limit the cost of these projects to specified amounts now it has been decided to allocate "as much as is needed" to them. Nor have the sides forgotten the comparatively small $20 million programs mainly in the transport and agro-industrial spheres. It has been agreed that a second line of credit will "develop" from the present $800 million line. This looks good and, furthermore, sounds convincing.

But as soon as the discussion on the problems broached by the partners goes, as it were, into global orbit, there is immediately a bitter feeling that the role being played by Moscow on the European and world financial stage is not a full fledged one. According to the script, Russia's request for Western aid is accompanied one way or another by feeble exclamations: If you do not support the present reforms in the Russian Federation you will regret it later.

Take, for example, the U.S. appeal to the other members of the G-7 in Tokyo to create some kind of insurance or reserve "aid fund for the structural changes and privatization" in the Russian economy. Recently, in London and certain other capitals it has emerged that Britain and America's allies simply cannot envision the specific tasks of this fund. However the Russian cabinet has a clear view of them. In Moscow's opinion, the issue should center on reducing the multibillion indebtedness of the former USSR and the Russian Federation to Western supplier firms. It would be a good idea to put together at least a few billion for these companies and then, it is argued, the tension surrounding this problem could be eased. Otherwise, there will be the inevitable seizures of hundreds of bank accounts, the series of bankruptcies, and panic in all spheres of cooperation with Russia. So, partners, take your pick, whatever is worst for you.

Here is another example. Before the end of June this year Russia should receive the first half of a major IMF credit of $1.5 billion. As for the second half, in A. Shokhin's words, a fundamentally different scheme of allocating the money has now been suggested to the Western creditors. What is it precisely? The money should be sent to Russia via... other CIS countries. In other words, they receive the dollars first on condition that they immediately transfer this currency to Moscow to pay for the vast debts of the "nearby foreign parts" for supplies of Russian energy sources (!). Otherwise, it is said, the "Russian horse" will not be able to pull the cart overloaded with fuel for export with the result that one-sixth of the planet will suffer energy chaos. This seems terrifying, of course, but do such schemes not reveal the full depth of the disagreements within the CIS and the chronic inability of its creators to independently sort out the contradictions which have built up within the commonwealth?

Unfortunately, mundane arguments of the not so distant era of perestroyka come to mind here. You will remember how the champion of panhuman thinking tried to intimidate the West with talk of new Chernobyls, waves of refugees flooding across the border in the event of the failure of perestroyka, and so forth...

The West does not need mystical oaths. It needs firm and comprehensively considered guarantees of the advisability of capital investments in Russia and, in future, of their profitability. What it needs is not a sham market but a real one, one which is accepted and understood by the majority of Russians. Until such a thing exists people should not be surprised that British business does not want to blindly rely on the cost recovery of this or that joint project or to forego comprehensive governmental guarantees or, better still, international guarantees. That indeed is what A. Shokhin was forced to concede at the final press conference when he said that many of our partners "want not just insurance, but also double indemnity."

Shokhin Reports British-Russian Credit Agreement Reached

LD2405171993 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1545 GMT 24 May 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Sergey Podyapolskiy]

[Text] Moscow, 24 May—Russia and Great Britain have reached an agreement on utilizing British credit worth more than $400 million. This was reported today at a news conference by Aleksandr Shokhin, Russian Federation deputy prime minister. According to him, it is envisaged that the aforementioned credit should be channelled into the implementation of three major projects.

The largest project ($210 million) presupposes the replacement of the turbines at gas compressor stations on the West Siberia-Center gas pipeline. It will be financed jointly with the U.S. Export-Import Bank. The second project ($107 million) provides for the construction of an international terminal at Domodyedovo airport. Approximately $70 million will be channelled into modernizing the Moscow city telephone network.

According to Aleksandr Shokhin, all the projects planned from the loan will recoup hard currency. The Russian Federation Government is acting as guarantor for all of them. The deputy prime minister also reported that Great Britain has confirmed its willingness to grant yet another credit of $400 million.

Defense Enterprises Open Exhibition in UK

LD2405161093 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1000 GMT 24 May 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondents Aleksandr Sisnev and Viktor Solomin]

[Text] Birmingham, 24 May—After many months of thorough preparations, the "Conversion-93" exhibition opened at the national exhibition center in Birmingham, a British industrial town, today. Examples of the output of Russia's leading defense enterprises are being displayed there. The exhibition is intended for specialists only, and was opened by Helen Sharman, Britain's first woman-cosmonaut.

"Conversion-93" created a stir long before its exhibits were brought here. This is not surprising; after all, it deals with the output of Russia's major military factories and centers. It is no accident that some journalists have described the exhibition as "the sale of Cold War secrets." But Russian representatives have assured an ITAR-TASS correspondent that there is no question of secrets. "Like any civilized country, one of them said, we keep some of our inventions and latest equipment secret."

Although the technology and examples shown at the exhibition have been developed by Russia's military-industrial complex, they are destined for civilian use. Yuriy Glybin, deputy head of the Russian Federation committee for defense industries, who has arrived in Birmingham, told an ITAR-TASS correspondent that the exhibition is intended to show Western firms the Russian military sector's vast potential to work for peaceful production. Glybin did not hide the fact that in Birmingham Russian military enterprises will not only show their potential, but also hope to find buyers for their output. We have come to establish links and agree on possible transactions and joint work, he said.

But not everybody sees "Conversion-93" as a purely business industrial exhibition. Before it opened, rumors circulated to the effect that transactions on deliveries of modern military technologies and even arms to "dictatorial regimes" will be concluded at the exhibition. The exhibition organizers, both Russian and British, have categorically rejected such allegations. Moreover, as has transpired, special precautionary measures will be taken to verify the background of the companies showing interest in defense output.

Yarov Delegation Arrives in Hanoi

LD2405123193 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1131 GMT 24 May 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondents Aleksandr Denisovich, Igor Shubin]

[Text] Hanoi May 24 TASS—An official Russian delegation led by Deputy Prime Minister Yuriy Yarov arrived here today to participate in the second session of the Russo-Vietnamese Joint Commission on Economic, Scientific, Technical and Cultural Cooperation.

The delegation is expected to discuss and sign several intergovernmental agreements, including those on continuation of prospecting for and extracting oil and gas upon the continental shelf in Southern Vietnam ("Vietsovpetro" Russo-Vietnamese joint venture); on avoiding double taxation on incomes and property; on air and merchant shipping.

Defense Industry Signs Cooperation Accord With ROK

LD2405180293 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1752 GMT 24 May 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Ivan Zakharchenko]

[Text] Seoul May 24 TASS—The signing today of a memorandum on cooperation in defence industry between the South Korean Ministry of Trade, Industry and Power-Engineering and the Russian Committee for the Defence Sectors of Industry signalled a specific step on the path of South Korean businessmen's involvement in switching Russia's military-oriented factories from war to peace.

This document envisages cooperation between the two countries' business communities in the aerospace industry, electronics, the development of precise machine-building and new materials technologies.

The sides agreed to open information centres and forge direct links between the Korean Institute of Scientific-Technical Information and the All-Russian Institute of Inter-Sectoral Information.

Article Views NATO's Offer of Cooperation, Not Integration

PM2405104393 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 20 May 93 p 3

[Vadim Markushin, S. Pashayev article: "Will the Door to Europe Open Wide for Us?"]

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] Nobody knows when the door is going to open wide. There is a most widespread illusion that one day we could be invited into the European club, as soon as they have satisfied themselves as to our complete reincarnation. In actual fact, by all accounts no imminent historical moment when Russians would be solemnly initiated as members of the Community, when they would be given a place of honor on "Main Street," as it were, is in the offing.

Why? The answer is obvious: The problems being tackled by the European Community are simply not comparable or commensurate with ours. They are rich, we are poor. They are "honing" their infrastructure, we are just trying to get to grips with intricate blueprints. They have a process of scrupulous regulation of the need to improve a sector of some common autobahn or the ecological advisability of the latest new industrial construction project. No way can we contrive to accept such appropriate regulations as a means to finally turn our incalculable resources to advantage.

We got into the European Parliament, where fundamental and lengthy conversations about improvements of one kind or another take place, under the protection of the European People's Party, uniting 12 countries' christian-democrat and conservative parties. It was a "Russian day"—the problem of conversion in Russia was being discussed in the foreign affairs committee.

We were able to witness only a small fragment of the debate—an American was speaking. He talked about already known conversion models, of which he gave preference to the evolutionary model. That is, whereby the military-industrial complex becomes gradually involved in consumer goods production. Moreover, production of those which can be delivered to industrially developed countries. The American did not mention how to organize the production of output of this quality and range. This, he said, can be learned only empirically, each specific country doing everything its own way.

Reticence regarding precise remedies, it must be noted, is characteristic not only of Americans. Although as regards the transition to the market, all our interlocutors in Brussels unequivocally noted two aspects. First, the need for legal guarantees for foreign businessmen in Russia. Second, the possibility and advisability of contacts and dealings on an exclusively personal basis: "I know you, I have confidence in you, I want to deal with you."

"The New Russia and NATO" is an illustrated special publication which caught our eye in all the corridors and offices of the North Atlantic alliance's headquarters into which we were taken. It is clearly opportune, as they say: This problem is invariably broached by representatives of various Russian and NATO departments who meet regularly at various levels.

In truth, there is no problem at the moment. There are only conversations, which NATO members skillfully maintain in order, as one of our diplomats put it, to play a realistic game with the Russians, encouraging their orientation toward the West. Our new partners have quickly noticed the change that has taken place in us: We have almost stopped calling for NATO's disbandment, but instead have started floating ideas like: "Why should we not create a joint corps—after all, there is a German-French or a German-U.S. corps."

In response to these ideas the Atlantists express concern over the signs threatening their stable, moderate system. They say that problems have increased, despite the fact that confrontation has become a thing of the past. The USSR has been replaced by a whole bunch of new formations with all their special characteristics and unpredictability. Thus, enlarging NATO by bringing in certain East European countries, including, of course, Russia, would in their view mean the automatic inclusion of a vast area in the alliance's area of responsibility. Naturally, the procedure for making decisions on new problems would be made many times more complicated.

Nevertheless, Russia's role in this scheme is extremely important to Western politicians. During a conversation with us NATO Secretary General Manfred Woerner said: "We respected you as strong opponents. We respect you as worthy partners in the cause of stabilizing the situation in the world." Combined efforts, according to Woerner, can and must now be concentrated on fighting such evils as organized crime, international terrorism, and the drugs mafia.

As regards the sphere of military organizational development, hard work lies ahead here too. So believes, in particular, General Klaus, one of the joint staff leaders, who talked to us about new priorities in activities concerning NATO's military organizational development. According to him, the substance of staffs' operational training has changed substantially. Now we should no longer reflect on impending battles in the center of Europe but on ways of dealing with localized conflicts. The current structures, the general believes, are not very suitable for these tasks, while new ones are only just being put together.

So, Russia and the European Community. Russia and NATO. What lies over the horizon? Integration? Extensive cooperation and partnership, facilitating Russia's revival and transformation (or not only Russia's but also the entire new commonwealth's) into a fourth world center along with West Europe, the United States, and Japan? Probably the second. Geopolitical, historical, and national and cultural preconditions act in favor of this very transformation. This is also confirmed by personal impressions from the trip to Brussels.

Constitutional Issues

Filatov Briefs Press on Constitutional Conference

LD2505105593 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 0830 GMT 25 May 93

[Text] [Announcer] Our observer Yuliy Semenov has just come on the line to the studio to report on the briefing given by Sergey Filatov, head of the Russian president's administration.

[Semenov] Good morning. The briefing ended 20 or 25 minutes ago. The journalists were primarily interested in everything to do with the constitutional conference. Sergey Filatov outlined the conference, talking first about how it will be made up. Excuse me if I go into figures here. Around 600 participants are expected at the conference, to be made up according to categories as follows: about 160 people from the central bodies of power, including 50 representatives of the president and the government and the rest from factions and the Supreme Soviet; about 175 or 176 from the citizens [subyekt] of the Federation, if all take part, of course, 60 citizens of the Federation have sent in lists of those who will attend; there will be a total of around 250 people taking part from sociopolitical organizations and parties and representatives of local administration associations, religious bodies, trade unions, entrepreneurs, and commodity producers. The president has issued personal invitations to representatives of the supreme judicial bodies.

A total of 22 regional conferences have been held on the procedure for holding the conference and preparing for it, with representatives of the working group drawing up the constitution taking part. The group estimates that 83 citizens of the Federation took part in these conferences.

The general atmosphere was one of support for the president's draft. There are of course many requests for various additions, with over 400 proposals so far and the number is mushrooming at a great rate, so all these figures are pretty arbitrary.

As for what trends these proposals reflect, there is concern on the part of representatives of the citizens of the Federation that there are two drafts of the constitution. They want to get away from these two drafts and pool the best in them. There is also concern that there might be certain aspects which encroach upon the status of the regions and the citizens of the Federation, and there has been a great deal of criticism on that question. Finally, there is a lively debate over the procedure for adopting the constitution, which the constitutional conference is to determine.

Large groups of experts are working on these criticisms, of course, and intensively at that, and by the time the conference opens the majority of them, at least, will have been taken into account or at least discussed and classified.

The organizers of the constitutional conference have requested that the regions and public organizations and all those invited to take part send specialists—not bosses, not managers, not officials, but specialists. Where a region is concerned, then it might be the chairman of the local legislation committee. For a republic it would be the minister of justice or some specialist in that sphere.

It is suggested that the draft law on elections should be discussed at the same time. That is the draft that was submitted to the Supreme Soviet Presidium yesterday. The law on elections should not be a confrontational thing; it should unite the views of various branches of power. The conference is intended to be open and will get wide press coverage. It will, of course, work in several sections.

In conclusion, another aspect which was mentioned at the briefing was the shifts among the body of deputies. The mood is changing there. As we know, several deputies have renounced their mandates. Sergey Filatov said that, in his view, there was no point in doing that because it strengthens the position of those forces which are against the president and effectively delivers the congress and Supreme Soviet into their hands. About 300 deputies are already planning in some way to block the antipresidential activities of the representative bodies of power and are holding onto their deputy seats.

That is all I have to say about what Sergey Filatov, head of the president's administration, said in the Kremlin this morning.

Outlines Procedures for Conference

LD2505122993 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1150 GMT 25 May 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Gennadiy Talalayev]

[Text] Moscow May 25 TASS—"Some 600 representatives of different ranks will attend the constitutional conference, which is to open in the Kremlin on June 5," head of the Russian president's administration Sergey Filatov told journalists here today.

"As many as 419 remarks and amendments to the draft constitution, which will be submitted to the conference, have been received so far," he stated. "a special team, including authors of the draft and staff members of the presidential state legal department, has been set up to study these suggestions. In order to make this open conference more effective, it is planned to divide its participants into panels, for instance, a federal system panel, a local self-government panel, etc. The procedural rules of the conference have not been determined yet, but if its work proves sufficiently well- organised, it could be completed in June," Filatov believes.

Filatov noted that the recent 20 regional conferences, covering 83 subjects of the federation, had expressed support to the presidential draft. Their participants

believe that it is better in many ways than the draft drawn up by the parliamentary constitutional commission. At the same time, they made several remarks, in particular, about the curtailed rights of the subjects of the federation and legitimacy of the procedure for adopting the constitution. The head of the presidential administration again stressed that the main purpose of the conference was to draw up a draft and only then to decide how it should be approved.

"Such a decision," Filatov believes, "will largely depend on the situation in the society and in the parliament." He said in this connection that several mps [members of parliament], including vice-chairman of the Supreme Soviet Nikolay Ryabov, had realistically assessed the balance of forces in the society after the referendum, and had "decided to begin a constructive rapprochement with the executive branch of government". However, the speaker and his first deputy Yuriy Voronin are continuing to put up various obstacles to the convocation of a constitutional conference. This is borne out by Ruslan Khasbulatov's recent hotline telephone conference with heads of local representative bodies and by his trips to several regions.

Replying to questions, Filatov said that many mps were ready to lay down their mandates, but "this will weaken the democratic forces in the congress and in the parliament, and will benefit the opposition".

Touching on fuel prices, Filatov said that "unfortunately, oil output is diminishing". Therefore, the state must regulate fuel prices and must do it effectively so as not to allow any skyrocketing of prices".

Further on News Conference

PM2505152493 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 26 May 93 First Edition p 1

[Vasiliyy Kononenko report on 25 May press briefing by S. Filatov, head of the Russian president's administration: "Numerical Composition and Work Procedure for Constitutional Conference Specified"]

[Text] The regular briefing by S. Filatov, leader of the Russian Federation president's administration, was devoted to preparations for the Constitutional Conference.

He announced that in accordance with the president's edict, the numerical composition of this body has been determined. It will include 95 people from the Constitutional Commission, 14 representatives of Supreme Soviet political factions, and 50 representatives of the president and government (their actual identities [personalnyy sostav] will be announced in a few days' time). So the total is approximately 160 people. On top of that there are 176 representatives of components of the Federation.

Under the existing Constitution, local self-government organs, political parties, religious denominations, commodity producers, and entrepreneurs are also entitled to take part in this work. The total number of their representatives is set at 250. Thus some 600 people will be at the Constitutional Conference. Naturally, representatives of the Supreme Soviet, the Constitutional Court, the Court of Arbitration, and the Supreme Court may also be present. They will receive personal invitations. As far as representation is concerned, S. Filatov said, we have chosen the principle of open nomination [zayavochnyy printsip], by means of consultations with leaders of political parties.

In the course of preparation of the draft new constitution, 22 regional conferences were held, in which representatives of 84 components of the Federation took part. Unfortunately, leaders of local soviets did not take part in them everywhere. However, local soviet deputies were present at virtually all these conferences.

As regards the content of the draft fundamental document, 419 proposals and comments have been received, and the influx has increased drastically in recent days. An analysis of submissions which is being carried out by experts from the State Legal Administration indicates that three points predominate. First, there is the expression of concern about the situation in the country and the desire to concentrate on a single draft constitution. Here it is proposed that the presidential draft be taken as a basis. The second aspect is the problem of legitimacy in adopting the new constitution. This is a valid point. The third aspect, S. Filatov said, is to take into account observations on safeguarding the rights of republics, krays, oblasts, and autonomies, and this also has to do with the president's powers. Here, adjusting the mechanism of interaction between president and parliament is envisaged.

One option for conducting the Constitutional Conference, the leader of the president's administration went on, is to divide this body into sections, so that experts in a specific field—law, federal structure, self-government—can work as fruitfully as possible. In connection with the origin of amendments to the draft new constitution, he announced that 27 amendments have been received from sociopolitical associations, 18 from a deputies' faction [as published], 140 from citizens of Russia, and 13 from federal organs of power. There are also amendments from nine republics, and 26 amendments from krays and oblasts. As of yesterday, 60 components of the Federation had confirmed their intention to participate in the work of the Constitutional Conference.

Another question that arises is: At what level should the Federation components be represented? I do not think the top people should necessarily attend, S. Filatov said, since the conference will last some considerable time. As you know, we intend to open it on 5 June, and to complete the work by the end of the month, given good progress. In some regions they have already decided to

appoint to this body the chiefs of legal administrations, representatives of the legislation committees of the local soviets, and so forth. In my view, that is the best option.

Answering journalists' questions, S. Filatov said, in particular, that hopes of the Congress adopting a new constitution are extremely slim. An analysis of voting at recent Congresses on the problems of reform and the distribution chart of voters' votes in the referendum show sharp discrepancies. The composition of the Congress is not in accordance with the mood in society. Therefore it is no use relying on the present body of deputies. Moreover, as of today more than 300 deputies have made it known that they do not intend to take part in the work of the forthcoming Congress. For a decision to be adopted on self-dissolution by the Congress, approximately 320 deputies' statements are needed. But I think there will be more than that, S. Filatov said. Nonetheless, I think deputies could help to conduct the work of the Cosntitutional Conference effectively and could further the adoption of a new constitution. In connection with the Russian parliament's describing the Constitutional Conference as a consultative body, he stated: The draft new constitution, after initialing by the Federation components, must be submitted to the president. He will have to assess the situation and choose the final scenario for the adoption of the Fundamental Law, S. Filatov stressed.

Constitution Conference 'Last Chance' To End Crisis

PM2505121293 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 25 May 93 First Edition p 4

[Valeriy Vyzhutovich article: "If... the Constitutional Conference Does Not Become the President's Ally, He Could Be Left Without Allies"]

[Text] The edict signed by Yeltsin on convening a Constitutional Conference marks the start of an open offensive by the president's team on a dyarchy which can no longer be tolerated. Obviously the split in the parliamentary leadership seemed to Yeltsin to be a secure enough bridgehead for the launching of hostilities.

Yeltsin's closest colleagues talk more often than their opponents about the need to coordinate interests within the framework of the Constitutional Conference. But at the same time they stress: Only the presidential draft [constitution], and no other, can be the subject of discussion. Which makes the participants in the planned meeting wonder where they are being summoned—to a "roundtable," or to the barricades?

If the talks process is broken off (never mind by which side), the last opportunity to resolve the power crisis without appealing to the people again will crumble into dust. In order to prevent this, the president will be forced to maintain diplomatic contacts with at least four political blocs (the number of bodies forming the structure of the conference).

Yeltsin is warned against drastic steps first and foremost by the statement of 11 heads of republic Supreme Soviets, who reject in principle both the presidential draft and the procedure for its adoption. Yeltsin's reliance on the Federation components whose position has not been finally determined appears all too fragile. First, some representatives of national autonomous formations are afraid that the president's constitution could, as Khasbulatov put it, "erase" them. Second, they are playing a double game, participating alternately, like Viktor Stepanov (Karelia) or Yuriy Spiridonov (Komi), in sessions of the president's working group and in conferences of the Constitutional Commission, and making a show of loyalty in first one and then the other. Third, representatives of the regional elite will not, of course, miss an opportunity to sell their participation in talks and consultations for an increase in their powers, a slackening of the Kremlin yoke, export quotas, budget subsidies, and tax concessions.

If the Federation components win the right not only to participate in consultations on the draft of the fundamental law but also, as Viktor Ignatenko, chairman of Irkutsk Oblast Soviet, proposes, to initial and subsequently ratify it, then future relations between the supreme power and Russia's regions will break wide open and the present struggle between the Kremlin and the White House will give way to a confrontation between the center and the provinces.

The tour of Russia's regions by the presidential team is not so much a propaganda campaign as a campaign of mobilization. Khasbulatov also does not despise a vigorous appeal to the provinces. He has already promised the krays and oblasts that parliament will work out a far more effective system for the exercise of their rights and give them greater independence from the center than Yeltsin is promising.

It is not yet clear which side the regional elite will take. Of course, the krays and oblasts are flattered that the Shakhray-Alekseyev draft puts them on an equal footing with the republics, as is confirmed by the identical criteria for representation to the Constitutional Conference for all components of the Federation. But this equality is hardly to the liking of the republic leaders, who are instantly demoted, so to speak. Be that as it may, the provinces have yet to say either "yes" or "no" to the presidential draft, and Yeltsin, accompanied only by Filatov, Shakhray, and Shumeyko, has not yet plucked up courage to stray outside the "constitutional field" strictly mapped out by Zorkin.

If the president succeeds in talking round the leaders of autonomous formations and the leadership of the major Russian provinces, he will thereby strengthen his influence on the other three chambers too (the federal organs of power, the political parties and social organizations, and local self-government).

In the structure of the conference all sections are equal, all are of key importance. First the draft will be examined in each of the chambers, then the conciliation commission (of 10 people from each chamber) will finally determine its fate.

If the Constitutional Conference does not support the presidential draft, Yeltsin will have no alternative but to appeal to the people again. But whatever form a subsequent mass expression of will may take, it will still have to be put into practice through the organs of representative power. First and foremost, through parliament. But there is still a chance of reaching agreement with parliament in June, through the medium of the conference that has been convened.

Parliament Center Chief Promotes Shakhray's Constitution

MK2505094093 Moscow FEDERATSIYA in Russian No 57, 25 May 93 (signed to press 24 May) p 2

[Article by Konstantin Lubenchenko, general director of the Russian Federation Parliamentary Center: "Compromise Is Possible"]

[Text] What we need is compromise, otherwise events may evolve according to the worst-case scenario—for an acute crisis of the center is evident, the crisis of the periphery is growing more and more visible, and Russia faces a real threat of breaking up along regional lines. The more so because not all the republics within Russia are willing to view the krays and oblasts as equal partners (although some oblasts are much larger than some of the republics in terms of population and industrial capacity)... The demise of Russia as a single whole is the most dangerous prospect at this stage and can be avoided only by compromise.

We may start with a roundtable that would reconcile disagreements with regard to some controversial provisions of the draft constitutions. Which of them should be adopted as the basis, however, is still unclear. The most important thing in the presidential draft is an attempt to raise presidential authority to an absolute at any cost, while parliament is simply nonexistent there. Or, to be more precise, it is reduced to a pseudo-parliament. In this event the future of democracy will hinge on the personality of the president. And should an ill-intentioned, ignorant, or passion-driven person come to occupy this post, Russia's fate would be as hard as it had been under most of our "rulers" both before and after 1917.

As for the draft presented by the Constitutional Commission, it is, in my view, legally cumbersome and requires substantial polishing even from the point of view of its form.

The best draft to be adopted as a basis, in my view, is the one drawn up some time ago by Sergey Shakhray after Sobchak and Alekseyev proposed their draft on behalf of the Democratic Russia movement on the eve of the Sixth Congress. Why should not we adopt this draft as a basis to be discussed and finalized at the roundtable? And the resulting draft should be submitted to the congress for adoption. If the congress proves incapable of adopting it, we will still have a referendum or a constitutional assembly at our disposal.

The Constitutional Assembly is being currently proposed as the main option, although it has not been laid down in the Constitution. Well, maybe we will have to rely on the principle of advisability and not on the legitimate, lawful basis. But I would prefer that the constitution be adopted by referendum or the requisite amendments be made to the current Fundamental Law.

There are, however, apprehensions that after April a referendum will be hard to organize, that it may prove invalid, or that the congress would refuse to make amendments regarding the constitutional assembly to the current Fundamental Law. If it proves unable to adopt a new constitution on its own, then let it be done by a new deputy corps that will replace it. In this event, what is needed is to make amendments to the current Constitution with regard to the organization of the future legislature—a bicameral parliament—and the Law on Elections. Let the new parliament pass the new constitution as well... This option seems to me the most advisable.

In the final analysis, there are methods to reach compromise. What is important is not to pay lip service to it, but to translate the desire to reach it into real political steps decreasing the level of political tensions in society.

Prospects for Constitutional Conference Pondered

PM2505104193 Moscow ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI in Russian 25 May 93 p 1

[Lyubov Tsukanova article: "Constitutional Conference: Who Will Sit Around the Negotiating Table"]

[Text] The publication of the Russian Federation president's edict "On Convening the Constitutional Conference and Completing the Preparation of the Draft Constitution of the Russian Federation" has concluded a kind of "discussion" stage in forming a structure capable of preparing a draft of the new Fundamental Law and presenting it to society. Boris Yeltsin has taken the maximum account of opinions on the makeup of the conference: Not only representatives of federal organs of power and not only representatives of the organs of power of the components of the Federation are being involved in the work but also delegates of organs of local self-management, political parties, public organizations and movements, commodity producers and entrepreneurs, trade unions, religious faiths, and also the scientific public. The procedure for forming the conference is formulated in the edict. From the federal authorities 50 representatives of the president and the government and Russian Federation people's deputies—members of the Congress Constitutional Commission and representatives "from each faction of people's deputies"—will

participate. Each component of the Federation will delegate two representatives—one from the representative organ of power and one from the executive organ of power. This is the quite definite, numerically calculated part of the conference—approximately 400 people (if the Constitutional Commission is included in full). The makeup of the other participants—from the public—is considerably less definite. Only the total number has been named—up to 250 people. Selection will evidently be quite complex owing to the large number of aspirants, and only the extremely short time available can simplify the situation: Applications must be submitted before 25 May, i.e. "natural selection" cannot be ruled out for reasons of an organizational nature.

Representatives of the top judicial bodies (the Constitutional Court, the Supreme Court, the Higher Arbitration Court) and the General Prosecutor's Office are also invited to participate in the Constitutional Conference.

Thus, the expected membership of the conference is approximately 700 people. It will be interesting to see what the "distribution of forces" will be, proceeding from the fact that efforts will certainly be made to coordinate and merge the two drafts—the president's and the "Congress" draft. It is obvious that the first draft will be supported unequivocally by representatives of the president and the government and by a significant proportion of regional administration heads. Support for this draft as the basis of a single document is likely from a section of the public representatives, but not necessarily from a majority. It is hardest of all to forecast the position of representatives of the soviets from the components of the Federation: A tactic of pressure will most likely be chosen here, and support will be given to the draft whose "defenders" make the maximum concessions to the regions' pretensions to autonomy—not only and not even so much economic autonomy as political autonomy.

The position of representatives of the Russian corps of deputies is not at all clear at present. Let us start with the fact that the question of their participation in the Constitutional Conference has not been resolved even in principle. The Supreme Soviet has not yet formulated its position, the debate has remained just a debate, and last Friday, when the vote on this question was to have taken place, it was frustrated by the lack of a quorum. This is a very telling fact, even if the quorum was not thwarted deliberately: Confusion reigns in the ranks of Supreme Soviet members. On the one hand, they are very reluctant to waive the repeatedly expressed principle of loyalty to the "only legitimate" means of discussing and adopting the new Fundamental Law; on the other, they could end up voluntarily detached from the actual constitutional process, which since the president's 20 May edict has been concentrated in the Constitutional Conference. A compromise decision will most likely be adopted after the week-long break in Supreme Soviet plenary sessions (deputies will work in committees and commissions and go away on business trips). In this instance time is on the president's side, and his "proactive" tactic has proved far more productive than passive compromise responses to the actions of the top legislative organ.

How the work of the Constitutional Conference will proceed is an abstract question at present, which will acquire specific features after the composition of the participants has been finally decided. But it will, in any case, be a representative gathering, and it will be impossible to disregard its opinion and decisions.

Constitutional Court's Zorkin Interviewed

MK2505111693 Moscow FEDERATSIYA in Russian No 57, 25 May 93 (signed to press 24 May) p 2

[Interview with Valeriy Zorkin, Russian Federation Constitutional Court chairman, by Yelena Afanasyeva; on 15 May, place not given: "Centrism Leading to the Shore. Therein Lies a Way Out of the Present Crisis, According to Valeriy Zorkin, Russian Federation Constitutional Court Chairman"]

[Text] [Afanasyeva] Valeriy Dmitriyevich, passions over the constitution have gone beyond all limits in recent days. Do you think a new constitution is needed?

[Zorkin] This is not the question. In April 1992 one could say that it was possible not to hurry about adopting a new constitution—only not wait too long and do everything in time. Now, as the saying goes, the process is well under way. The main thing is that it should not become a destabilizing factor. The question now is that the constitution will be discussed and adopted. And we must go down the road of accord also in the process of adopting the new constitution. Otherwise the process of its adoption will turn into a symbol of radicalism on both sides.

[Afanasyeva] Could you, as a lawyer, give an assessment of the presidential draft constitution?

[Zorkin] I can assess it as a lawyer, as a citizen of Russia, or in any other capacity. On these aspects the court may not express its judgment since we do not verify the constitutionality of the Constitution. I know that the draft contains a number of positive provisions. Nonetheless, it does not look too good in comparison with the other, also "presidential," draft by the Constitutional Commission, whose chairman Yeltsin remains. The authors of the first draft say that under it, the president is the head of state. However, they are being sly. The "head of state" is the British queen or the president of the FRG, but here the president is head of state and head of the executive branch. And this branch headed by the president has more powers than the U.S. and French Presidents put together.

Yet I am not downgrading this draft. Maybe by balancing the two drafts we could get a real constitution based on the division of powers. The process of coordination is already in motion.

[Afanasyeva] Coordination or confrontation?

[Zorkin] Both these trends are there. But common sense dictates—Come to agreement! Do not engage in confrontation! One must have no illusions that if this is not done, the confrontation between the branches will affect only the Center. The regions are already unhappy that the knot between the authorities is getting tighter.

[Afanasyeva] Do you believe the confrontation between the branches could result in civil war or the disintegration of Russia?

[Zorkin] It could, but not necessarily. If the regions go down the path of accord, then conflicts in Moscow will be stopped. Yet confrontation at the local level cannot be ruled out either. I hope that the sprouts of common sense will force their way out to the surface and a healthy centrist coalition will materialize. He who manages to promote centrism on a regional basis will be the winner.

[Afanasyeva] Valeriy Dmitriyevich, in recent weeks you have often been criticized for "shifting" to side with the Supreme Soviet, and that you are communicating only with Khasbulatov.

[Zorkin] Yes, I am doing business with Khasbulatov. Up until recently I have also been doing business with the president.

My rule is this: If I am not being called, I do not go. On 9 May I came to Poklonnaya Hill but the president's chief of security did not allow me to see the president. That takes care of our communication. As a judge, I have never been in the "pocket" of any official body. On 20 March an attempt was made to change the constitutional system and I could not possibly have failed to ignore it. At the same time I could not have failed to ignore the "tilts" of the parliament, and I told the Eighth Congress that the impeachment attempt along with the 20 August statement were manifestations of extremism. The Constitutional Court supports a legitimate parliament and a legitimate president. Once they have gone outside the constitutional field, it is our duty to get them to return there. There is no other way out.

[Afanasyeva] Mikhail Poltoranin recently told a press conference that the people have shown mistrust in the congress, and therefore the bodies that it has established, including the Constitutional Court, are now illegitimate.

[Zorkin] If that was the interpretation, then it does not correspond to the referendum results. The Constitutional Court said that owing to the ambiguity of the questions and consequently the answers, these questions have rather a moral-political meaning. In responding to questions 3 and 4, Russian citizens have spoken against early elections. To say that the Congress has lost its legitimacy is to defy logic. The answer to these questions means that society wants to live under centralism and is sending a message to the authorities—live in peace! This is the message that is also coming from the regions. Otherwise, what happened to the USSR will be repeated. The radicals on both sides do not understand this and are trying to push the situation toward radical actions. It is necessary to move away from the bloody 1 May, and it is important to draw the main conclusion from the referendum. The citizens of Russia have said: You must make the best of the powers we have given you; with our answers, we have not spoken in favor of absolute power—you must live according to the principle of the division of powers!

[Afanasyeva] Boris Yeltsin has recently repeatedly spoken in favor of such methods of adopting the new constitution as a constituent assembly or a constitutional conference....

[Zorkin] I hear that the Supreme Soviet has appealed to the court on this question, but we have not formally received the text of the appeal (the interview took place on 15 May—Ye. A.), and I can say, without violating the status of judge, that a constitutional conference, whatever it might be called, can play a positive role. The present situation is such that without the republics, without the regions, it is impossible to produce a real text.

I think that it is necessary to summon a real "round-table" on the issue of adopting the constitution. But this body could be purely advisory. The current Constitution does not contain such notions as "constitutional conference" or "constituent assembly." And as long as this Constitution is in effect and until no corresponding changes have been introduced into it, any decision on having the new constitution being adopted by these bodies will be illegitimate.

I believe that common sense today calls for a process of coordination. Before the Congress nobody must usurp the powers that, under the Constitution, have been entrusted to the Congress. This is the only possible way. It is important to remember that no one will be able to score a one-sided victory. How much longer are the republics going to put up with this situation? Tatarstan has announced that it will go it alone; Tuva has included in its legislation the right to secede from Russia. I am not reproaching the regions. The more the central authorities are in conflict, the more aggravated these processes will be in the regions. But I hope for a common-sense centrist feeling, for centrism—not as gravitation toward the Center, toward Moscow, but as a political trend that would unite the people of Russia. Those regions that ride the crest of this wave will make it to shore.

It would be ideal if citizens were to move toward centrism from the flanks. If this does not happen, no constitution will hold out for very long. If there is no propping up in the shape of national accord, it will collapse within one to one and half years.

[Afanasyeva] Does the Constitutional Court have methods to influence the president, if Yeltsin insists on his variant of adopting the constitution?

[Zorkin] The Constitutional Court does have methods of influence—you must remember that from the 20 March events. The constitution must be adopted, but adopted by a civilized method, on the basis of social agreement.

[Afanasyeva] Does this mean that the Constitution may only be adopted by the Congress?

[Zorkin] In Russia, there is also another possible method—a referendum. But one should not approach this question from radical-extremist positions. There was a time when the congress and the president walked hand in hand. Nothing is irreversible. Life goes on and people should learn their lessons. Otherwise the first to suffer will be the citizens of Russia, who have deserved to live in harmony, in peace, within the Federation!

Correction to Yeltsin Constitutional Decree

LD2105221993

The following correction pertains to the item headlined "'Text' of Yeltsin Decree on Constitutional Assembly" published in the 21 May Central Eurasia DAILY REPORT, page 18:

Column one, paragraph numbered "4", only sentence make read: ...Moscow and St. Petersburg—one each coming from a representative and executive organ... (changing "and one each from" to "—one each coming from")

Political Issues

Yeltsin Issues Decree on Public Meetings

LD2405172493 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1610 GMT 24 May 93

[Text] Moscow, 24 May (ITAR-TASS)—Russian Federation President Boris Yeltsin issued a decree today approving a provisional instruction on the procedure for notifying the executive bodies of the city of Moscow of the organization of meetings, street processions, demonstrations, and picketing in streets, squares, and other open spaces of the city.

The provisional instruction requires that organizers of such actions—official representatives of work collectives, public organizations, and groups of individuals—should notify executive bodies not earlier than 15 days and not later than 10 days before the event, the Russian Federation presidential press service reported.

The notification should contain the aim, form, and place or itinerary of the mass action; the time it is to start and end; the expected number of participants; and details of official representatives (organizers).

Executive power bodies will refuse to accept the notification of the organization of a mass action in the following cases: if this action is in contravention of the principles of the Declaration of the Rights and Freedoms of Man and of the Citizen; if official representatives (organizers) do not undertake to ensure that public order is observed; or if this action coincides in form, time, and place with another mass action if the notification of the latter was received earlier or simultaneously with the former, within the set timescale; also, if it represents a real danger to the normal operation of enterprises, institutions, or organizations or necessitates halting the work of public or rail transport.

Interior Ministry Meeting Views Current Problems

LD2405172393 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1600 GMT 24 May 93

[By correspondent T. Orlova, including recording of remarks by B. Volkov, head of Internal Affairs Directorate of Amur Oblast—from the "Vesti" newscast]

[Text] A closed conference of the highest officials of the Ministry of Internal Affairs has taken place in Moscow. The top officials of Moscow management were present, along with representatives from other Russian regions. The issues debated today have been getting ever more topical of late; the May Day events, and the crime situation in Russia as a whole compel the structures charged with protecting law and order to seriously ponder their own security and technical equipment back-up. Apart from that, the welfare aspects of their work are also far from perfect, for the time being.

As ever, the most important problem is the financial one, and it has to be tackled before everything else. Where is money to come from in a situation in which the state is simply unable to set it aside? Perhaps structures outside the state remit can be brought into play? That is why the question of setting up an assistance fund for the law and order protection bodies was added to today's agenda. The prominent Sodruzhestvo Association, headed by Igor Turov, is already tackling this aspect.

[Volkov] A fund of this kind should surely be set up, because everything that helps the bodies of internal affairs to operate, everything that helps us develop, everything that helps us acquire equipment, everything that goes toward the welfare of our personnel does, I think, deserve the broadest support.

Government Leaders' Activities Detailed

PM2405125193 Moscow ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI in Russian 22 May 93 p 1

[Untitled, unattributed feature under "Council of Ministers Check" rubric]

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] First Vice Premier Oleg Lobov visited an international fair and met with the leadership of the Development Bank of Siberia.

Vice Premier Aleksandr Shokhin returned from London. He had taken part in a session of the intergovernmental

commission on trade and investment, where four specific projects involving cooperation in such were discussed. A roundtable discussion involving British private investors also took place there.

Vice Premier Yuriy Yarov spent the last working day of the week meeting with apparatus colleagues and tackling personnel issues.

Vice Premier Anatoliy Chubays met with the Swedish ambassador. Their discussion concerned general political questions.

Vice Premier Boris Fedorov took part in a Russian Federation Supreme Soviet session which discussed the question of the Russian Federation government's work on reciprocal settlements in the national economy.

Next Week

First Vice Premier Oleg Lobov will take part in the opening ceremony of the international forum "World Experience and the Russian Economy." The forum is being held by the Russian Union of Industrialists and Entrepreneurs. Russian Federation President Boris Yeltsin, parliamentary chairman Ruslan Khasbulatov, and Prime Minister Viktor Chernomyrdin have also been invited to take part.

Vice Premier Aleksandr Zaveryukha will be going to Volgograd on official business. A conference on questions concerned with stabilizing agro-industrial production and deepening agrarian reform is opening there on 26 May. Deputy chairmen of the councils of ministers of the constituent republics of Russia and deputy chiefs of administration in charge of the agro-industrial sector will be taking part in it. Zaveryukha will also take part in a session of the Russian Academy of Agricultural Sciences which is being held on this occasion in Volgograd.

Vice Premier Yuriy Yarov is to visit Vietnam. He will head the Russian Federation official delegation to the second session of the Russian-Vietnamese Intergovernmental Commission on Trade and Scientific and Technical Cooperation.

Documents

As a ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI correspondent was informed at the Russian Federation Council of Ministers-Government press service, the decree ratifying the Statute on the Russian Federation Ministry of Transport was one of the last documents adopted last week.

It notably stipulates that the Ministry of Transport tackles problems connected with the activity of air, sea, river, motor, urban, and electrically-powered transport and road building. Moreover the Ministry of Transport is to help form a market in road building work and transport services and help fashion new organizational structures based on different forms of ownership and establish the needs in terms of financial resources, including foreign currency, materials, and manpower for the implementation of interstate and federal priority programs.

Reports

"The search for constitutional reforms is now unstoppable—that was how Vice Premier Sergey Shakhray evaluated the results of the conference of heads of administration and representatives of local soviets of the Republic of Altay [as published], Altay Kray, and the oblasts and autonomous national districts of West Siberia devoted to discussion of the draft constitution. In a brief report he described the new constitution's main aims as follows: maintaining the integrity of the state, overcoming dyarchy, and creating conditions favorable to economic reforms.

The exchange of opinions was frank and sometimes pretty trenchant. Differing stances were expressed. Some proposed that the president's draft constitution be adopted as the basis, others proposed that a single document be created from the two drafts. The opinion of many came down to the following: "We cannot keep the people out of the discussion of the draft constitution" and "The Constitutional Conference is the supreme form of nationwide discussion of the constitution."

All the conference participants agreed that the Russian Federation needs a new constitution, but it is essential to create conditions which will enable it to be discussed in a businesslike, objective way.

Civic Union's Yermakov Rejects 'Extremes'

PM2405111393 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 21 May 93 First Edition p 2

[Interview with V.P. Yermakov, executive director of Civic Union, by Lyudmila Semina; date and place not given; carried under the rubric "Among the Parties and Movements": "Do Not Resort to Extremes"]

[Text] Hardly any other political formation has been subjected to such a campaign of defamation, persecution, and lies as Civic Union recently.

But what is Civic Union really like? This is the theme of our conversation with V.P. Yermakov.

[Semina] How viable is Civic Union, what is its potential, and are there no contradictions among its leaders?

[Yermakov] The ideas of centrism and of a well-considered and impartial state policy have always been popular in Russia. That is probably why Civic Union was born not in Moscow but out in the Russian provinces.

But radicals on the left and the right would very much like Civic Union to cease to exist as a united bloc of centrist forces. Some journalists and political scientists, carrying out definite orders, are in a hurry to announce

the early demise of the centrist coalition. Even though in fact we have broad support in the Russian regions.

[Semina] What is the level of Civic Union's popularity?

[Yermakov] Many snap polls conducted by Russian and the foreign mass media confirm that Civic Union has the highest rating among the political forces in Russia—24 percent—whereas Democratic Russia and Democratic Choice have around 10 percent..

Civic Union's regional organizations represent virtually all the social groups of the population: workers, employees, engineering and technical personnel, and entrepreneurs. The Russian Academy of Science's Institute of Socioeconomic Research has concluded that Civic Union has a powerful intellectual potential. Among the participants in the recent Civic Union forum 61 percent have higher education, 27 percent are educated to candidate level, and 7 percent have doctorates.

The union contains, if you will, the elite of society: business people, pragmatists, realists.

[Semina] Sooner or later Civic Union will have to choose between the right and the left. Could there be a coalition between Civic Union and Democratic Russia or the National Patriots?

[Yermakov] We will never resort to extremes. Civic Union unites all those who sympathize with it and will always operate as a single sociopolitical bloc.

[Semina] How great are Civic Union's chances of victory in the forthcoming election?

[Yermakov] Civic Union's aim ahead of an election is to secure victory, win a majority in parliament, and form the government.

We are confident that the program, aims, and positions of Civic Union will enable it to win.

[Semina] Does Civic Union have people capable of working in the government?

[Yermakov] It does, and it has very many of them, too. They are prepared for long, painstaking work and are not daunted by the difficulties. They are all from the professional sphere, they sincerely love Russia, and they are firmly convinced that they and those near to them will live in a free and prosperous Russia.

As for all those rabid democrats and unbending radicals, they opened bank accounts in foreign countries and got their bags ready a long time ago. They are just waiting for the right opportunity.

[Semina] How does Civic Union see Russia's future?

[Yermakov] We see a new, democratic and united country ahead of us, a reformed Russia, a renewed Russia, but not at the price of human grief and the poverty of millions of Russians.

Centrists Move To Unite All Opposed to 'Radicalism'

PM2505103993 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 22 May 93 First Edition pp 1-2

[Andrey Sharapov report under "In Parties and Movements" rubric: "Centrists Unite"]

[Text] A consultative conference of centrist forces was held 20 May at the House of Soviets in Moscow, with more than 30 parties and social movements taking part. There were two questions on the agenda. the formation of a centrist coalition; and the participants' attitude to the constitutional process.

In addition to politicians, well-known cultural figures—Nikita Mikhalkov, Stanislav Govorukhin, and Nikolay Gubenko—also took part in the conference. Their speeches voiced alarm about Russia's future and their rejection of many of the provisions of the policy currently being pursued. S. Govorukhin once again focused on the threat of corrupt forces' coming to power in Russia, and N. Gubenko shared his thoughts about the ambiguous position of the Russian intelligentsia, which was clearly evident just before the referendum.

In his speech Russian Vice President Aleksandr Rutskoy gave an analysis of the mistakes that have led to the current depressing state of affairs. Among other things these include a dangerous opposition between democracy and patriotism. Real democracy, however, is impossible without love for one's fatherland. Aleksandr Rutskoy regards the notion of democratic patriotism as a platform for social consolidation.

In his speech, the vice president also criticized the policy being pursued by the central executive organs of power of currying favor with the components of the Federation, as a result of which a small territory with a small population sometimes obtains more rights than an oblast with a population of many millions.

A unification of centrist forces is possible in the form of membership of a coalition, or else it may be sufficient to sign a document about agreed positions. The conference participants decided to discuss the basic tenets of a unity platform within their parties and to meet again 25 May to set up a centrist bloc with real powers.

On the second question the conference used as a basis a statement on the constitutional process. At a news conference immediately after the conference, Civic Union Executive Committee Chairman Vasiliy Lipitskiy stressed that issues regarding the adoption of a new Constitution are becoming the subject of acute political confrontation, which is being used by the party in power to distract the people from the failures of the economic policy being pursued.

The conference participants unequivocally favored a planned approach to the constitutional process. They recorded the view that it is intolerable for the country's

fundamental law to be formulated on the basis of immediate political considerations and for it to enshrine the possibility of restoring a dictatorship.

At the news conference Russian Vice President Aleksandr Rutskoy stressed once again that the centrist bloc is open to all who find either right- or left-wing radicalism unacceptable.

Regarding the recent dismissals of Yuriy Skokov and Georgiy Khizha, Aleksandr Rutskoy noted their high professional qualities and expressed the opinion that these dismissals were a presidential error committed as a result of the latest "prompting" from his entourage.

"When I hear the statement that the government should get down to work," the vice president noted, "I ask myself the question: Who is preventing the government from working?"

Aleksandr Rutskoy stressed that it is impermissible for the government to engage in politics, but yet again we are witnessing the contrary: At the present time a number of vice premiers are getting involved not in the economy, but in agitation for the presidential version of the Constitution.

West Urges Yeltsin Toward 'Authoritarian Regime'

PM2405131093 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 22 May 93 p 7

[A. Berdnikov "Opinion" article: "The West Is Encouraging Boris Yeltsin To Establish an Authoritarian Regime in Russia"]

[Text] The cadre changes in the top echelon of power in connection with Yu. Skokov's resignation as secretary of the Security Council and G. Khizha's departure from the government provoked some reaction in the Western mass media. The clumsy attempts by the government mass media in Russia to impose on the public their own interpretation of these changes in the distribution of forces as commonplace phenomena aimed at reinforcing the leadership with experienced professionals patently do not stand up to criticism.

The importance of the removal of Yu. Skokov from his post is obvious to Western politicians. And this action must be seen in the context of the "creeping" antidemocratic coup that B. Yeltsin has been implementing with the West's support since the 25 April referendum. The general conclusion from the analysis carried out by the Western press in the immediate aftermath of events is that the president, by dismissing Yu. Skokov, who failed to support his attempt on 20 March to impose presidential rule in the country in defiance of the constitutional organs of power, intends to step up the pressure on the entire system of law enforcement organs and the Army, with a view to profound cadre purges, and thus to persuade them to accept possible unconstitutional actions. (One factor that has been brought into play here is the accelerated introduction of a strict contract system in the Army and the security organs.)

If Yeltsin wanted to pursue a policy of compromise, at least with the center, to say nothing of dialogue with the left-wing opposition, there would be no point in removing Skokov. Clearly this move, which appears at first glance to be a routine cadre reshuffle, has led to still greater antagonism across the entire political spectrum and generated a distrust of the president's political intentions.

The departure from Yeltsin's entourage of Skokov and Khizha—pragmatists who were politically at the center and who to some extent restrained the radicalism of the president's closest colleagues—is a dangerous symptom testifying to a change of political tactics. The important conclusion drawn from the lessons of the abortive coup d'etat in March by the Western political circles who are behind the Russian president is that the coup was poorly prepared, failed to take into account the correlation of political forces in society that had developed at that time, and was not based on proper foundations or firm ground. The attempted coup was rejected by broad circles of the Russian public, came up against organized resistance from the constitutional organs of power and the opposition, and failed.

The crucial factors in the next attempt at a political coup which should, according to its organizers' intentions, lead eventually to success are the integration of the industrialists into the anti-Supreme Soviet alliance and the emphasis on regionalism in pushing through the president's draft constitution. This is the key to understanding the new government appointments for O. Lobov and O. Soskovets, who have close links with the industrial lobby in parliament and with A. Volskiy's Russian Union of Industrialists and Entrepreneurs.

It was R. Nixon who was the first to start talking clearly about the need for a political volte-face in Russia, back at the time of his visit to Moscow at the end of February. At that time the idea was not taken seriously either in the West or in Russia. It then seemed that it was possible to make a frontal attack on the representative power and the political opposition by introducing the so-called special regime of administration of the country, which, of course, implied an authoritarian regime with no constitutional checks or restrictions.

According to the Nixon scheme, the new tactics include both national and international aspects. In the national sphere the aim is to create a solid counterweight to the Supreme Soviet and Congress. According to a report by Martin Walker, Washington correspondent of THE GUARDIAN newspaper, "the advice which Nixon gave in public was that the United States and the West should support Yeltsin and his reforms in principle." At the same time the confidential thrust of Nixon's advice is far more subtle. According to a White House source, in conversation with Clinton, Nixon put forward his view of the problem and of Russia's prospects. This view is

that Yeltsin is in a desperate political position. And although generous political and economic aid from the West would be useful in saving the Yeltsin regime, it will not be enough, until such time as the Russian president makes up his mind to change his strategy by widening the political coalition and the social stratum of support for the reforms. The main aim of these efforts is the political isolation of the Supreme Soviet and Congress, and also of the opposition in parliament and society. In the event of success, it would be possible to win over the Army, the law enforcement apparatus, and also those factions within the Supreme Soviet that are vacillating.

The international aspect of the Nixon plan includes granting Russia a serious of economic and financial concessions with a view to bringing about a degree of economic revival and incorporating it in a global anti-Chinese alliance in the interests of the United States. As the INTERNATIONAL HERALD TRIBUNE wrote on 20 February 1993, drawing conclusions from Nixon's recommendations, the proposal he put to Clinton amounts to this: "Russia's success would be a powerful counterweight to the Chinese model."

Since the Nixon recommendations were put forward, we have seen persistent efforts to drag certain groups from the body of directors into politics, on the president's side. Ye. Gaydar gave his summing up of these attempts in a recent lecture at the London School of Economics: "The change in relations (between the government and industrialists) was dramatic... Last spring the enterprise directors were united against the government in demanding that credits be made available. By fall, there was a clear division between those who felt nostalgic for the old days, when credits and state orders were available, and the young and vigorous leaders who saw themselves as the future heads of big private companies competing with Western companies and enjoying a high living standard."

At the present stage, Yeltsin's tactics are to reach a compromise with those forces on which the course of economic reforms depends, on condition that they are fully in agreement with his political course—the handover of full power to him under the new Constitution, in exchange for support. This is the aim of the present tacit agreement between the government and the most radical section of the body of deputies which Yasin spoke of earlier.

G-7's advice to Yeltsin is that it would be an unforgivable mistake to continue to pursue radical economic reforms without having first destroyed democracy in Russia. The first thing that must be done at this time is to bring about substantial political changes, and the existing Constitution is an obstacle to this. Without changing the political superstructure in the direction of strengthening authoritarian, dictatorial power, you cannot complete the transformation of the economic base. That is what Western experts believe.

And here is an analysis made by the BBC in a recent program. In the program, it was stated bluntly that the removal of Skokov and Khizha was "one more step toward his (Yeltsin's) goal of changing the Constitution," and that "the main thing for Mr. Yeltsin now is political changes," as a consequence of which he has decided to remove from the leadership "politicians whom he cannot trust to support his plans to adopt a new constitution bypassing the Congress." It was also noted that Skokov was one of the leaders of the Federation Council—which is now a key organ as regards pushing through the president's draft. "The main purpose of the political maneuverings is to push through the Constitution, and for the time being to switch the economic reforms into a lower gear."

Yeltsin's intentions fully coincide with the decisions taken at the recent G-7 summit on financial questions. The thrust of these decisions amounts to a slight slowing of the pace of economic reforms in Russia pending a favorable outcome to its political problems, and above all the power question. The attempt to find a compromise with the body of directors must be closely linked with a persistent policy by the president to enlist allies in the shape of heads of administrations and components of the Federation onto his side in the struggle against the representative power over the draft constitution.

Republican Party Headquarters Burned Down

LD2405165293 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1611 GMT 24 May 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Lyudmila Aleksandrova]

[Text] Moscow May 24 TASS—The headquarters of the Republican Party of the Russian Federation was burnt down on May 22, co-Chairman of the Republican Party of the Russian Federation Vladimir Lysenko told ITAR-TASS.

There were no casualties, however, documents, material values, the archive of the party were burnt down.

Economic Issues

Chernomyrdin, Central Bank President on Economic Policy

LD2405192493 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1750 GMT 24 May 93

[By BIZNES-TASS correspondent Vadim Yegorov]

[Text] Moscow, 24 May—Viktor Chernomyrdin, chairman of the Russian Federation Council of Ministers, and Viktor Gerashchenko, chairman of the Russian Central Bank (RCB), signed a joint statement on economic policy today. The statement defines the main guidelines for implementing the course toward financial stabilization and the development of the market in Russia. The document notes that taxation and financial

and credit policy has the goal of reducing monthly inflation rates to below 10 percent by the end of 1993 and attaining a further stabilization of prices by 1994.

The statement says that as of the second quarter of this year, the overall increase of credits of the Russian Central Bank as well as the budget deficit will not exceed quarterly limits. The government and the Russian Central Bank also intend "to give up gradually all kinds of purpose-specific credits through the RCB while going over to subsidizing only through the budget" and increasing the amount of credits through credit auctions and other market mechanisms. The pledge to begin fixing the RCB's rate "at a level of no more than 7 percentage points below an interbank main market interest rate" as of 15 July 1993 is especially important. At the same time, the document spells out the renunciation in the future "of giving credits for reciprocal setting off of nonpayments by enterprises."

The part that touches upon the currency policy notes that although the transition to a stable ruble exchange rate remains a strategic task, the ruble "will continue to float with regard to other currencies until the financial policy is strengthened and inflation is significantly down." The statement says that until that time, the Russian Central Bank will not intervene in order to support artificially the ruble exchange rate. It is also planned that "the number of nonresidents of Russia who take part in operations of the country's currency markets will be increased," and beginning on 15 July they will be allowed to sell, and from 1 September 1993 to buy, currency.

The government is continuing the policy of liberalization of foreign trade, and it intends to eliminate export quotas stage-by-stage. It is also planned that the volume of centralized exports in 1993 will remain the same and in 1994 it will be reduced by 67 percent. The document especially emphasizes that "the government intends to implement consistently the program of privatization."

Experts note that this statement has been developed as the main program document of the Russian Government for holding negotiations with international financial organizations. It is not without reason that its closing part notes that the Russian Government "will give the International Monetary Fund all necessary information for monitoring the fulfillment of the program that has been agreed upon with the IMF," and "it will form the mechanism of efficient monitoring of receipts from abroad by 1 September 1993."

Joint Statement Signed

LD2505081393 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0623 GMT 25 May 93

[By BUSINESS TASS correspondent Vadim Yegorov]

[Text] Moscow May 25 TASS—Chairman of the Russian Government Viktor Chernomyrdin and Chairman of the Central Bank of Russia (CBR) Viktor Geraschenko signed a joint statement on the economic policy on Monday [24 May], outlining main tasks in the implementation of the course for financial stabilisation and the development of market in Russia.

The statement said that the purpose of the taxation and monetary and credit policy is to reduce a monthly rate of inflation to the level below 10 per cent by the end of 1993, and achieve further stabilisation of prices in 1994.

The statement declared that beginning from the second quarter of 1993, the general increase in the CBR credits and the budget deficit will be restricted by quarterly limits. The government and the Central Bank of Russia intend "to gradually give up all kinds of special credits issued by the CBR and gradually come down to subsidies from the budget only, increasing the share of credits granted through credit auctions and other market mechanisms."

Of special importance is a commitment as of July 15, 1993 to establish a CBR discount rate "at the level of no more than 7 percentage items less than the main interbank market discount rate."

At the same time, the statement said that "crediting of mutual debts of enterprises" will no longer be done.

As for the currency policy, the statement said that although a transition to the stable exchange rate of the rouble remains a strategic task, "it will remain floating against other currencies until financial policy is toughened and the rate of inflation considerably declines."

Until then, the CBR will not carry out an intervention with the aim of artificially supporting the rouble exchange rate. It was suggested "increasing the admittance of non-residents to Russian currency markets", allowing them to sell currency as of July, 15, and buy currency as of September 1, 1993.

Continuing the liberalization of foreign trade, the government intends to liquidate export quarters stage-by-stage. It is expected that the volumes of centralized exports be preserved in 1993, and in 1994, the exports will be reduced by 67 per cent. The statement pointed out that "the government intends to consistently implement the programme of privatisation."

Experts pointed out that the statement had been worked out as the main programme document of the Russian Government for talks with international financial organisations. The statement said in its final clause that the Russian Government "would submit the information, necessary for monitoring of the programme coordinated with the IMF, to the International Monetary Fund and by September 1, 1993, form a mechanism of efficient monitoring of foreign allocations."

Fedorov Calls Agreement 'Historic'

LD2505121893 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1130 GMT 25 May 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Sergey Podyampolskiy]

[Text] Moscow May 25 TASS—Russian Deputy Prime Minister Boris Fedorov said on Tuesday [25 May] the agreement on joint economic policy reached between the government and the Central Bank "is historic to a certain extent".

He praised the decision to observe quarterly quotas on centralised credits and added that the government abides by the limits in the second quarter of the year.

The government has taken from the Central Bank two trillion roubles, 700 billion of which are to be used as investments and for conversion programmes. Thus, the deficit will increase by the planned 1.3 trillion roubles, Fedorov told reporters.

The deputy premier qualified as "the most unexpected and major victory" of the government in its dispute with the Central Bank the pledge of the latter to introduce by July 15 a discount rate seven per cent lower than that existing on the market. "This is a sign that the position of the Cabinet of Ministers and of the Central Bank are rapproching", he stressed.

Fedorov said he had submitted to the government an 18-item programme of solving the problem of mutual indebtedness of enterprises "by technical methods", rather than by offsetting the debts.

He also said that draft presidential decree is ready which bans any additional budget expenses. The draft will be considered by the government on Thursday, Fedorov added.

Chubays Questioned on Privatization Issues

LD2405211593

[Editorial Report] Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian at 1800 GMT on 24 May carries its regular weekly 55-minute "Without Retouching" program hosted by Tatyana Krasnova and Sergey Torchinskiy. The guest on this occasion is Anatoliy Chubays, chairman of the Russian Federation Committee for the Management of State Property. The panel of journalists includes economic experts from MOSKOVSKIYE NOVOSTI, KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA, IZVESTIYA, SEGODNYA, KOMMERSANT, Radio Liberty, and the FINANCIAL TIMES.

Chubays opens with a brief introductory speech about the early mistrust of privatization and the discussions on whether it was needed at all; he says that the process is now past that stage. "Privatization is in full swing today, and everyone is getting something from it."

An IZVESTIYA correspondent asks Chubays if he is personally rich or wants to be rich. Chubays replies that he wants to be financially secure. He adds that he is not going to stay in the government forever.

A representative of SEGODNYA asks why Yeltsin did not drastically speed up the economic reform in Russia after the referendum. Chubays replies: "I think that after the referendum the president—and of course the government—were confronted with two principal tasks. One was a political task—drastically speeding up political dynamics—and the other was an economic task. True, the president has primarily concentrated his effort on the political aspect. You will perhaps agree with me that it is the most important thing. It is quite clear that it is impossible to work normally in a country where there are two economic policies, a presidential and a parliamentary. It is impossible to implement a reform in a country with two financial policies, one pursued by the government and the other by the central bank. All these are fundamental problems which can be only solved through large-scale political solutions, that is, through a constitution. As for the other aspect, the economic one, I think it is also vitally important. I was in favor of more radical action in this respect and continue to insist on this and make suggestions to this effect. I think that the president has not yet adopted all his decisions with respect to this economic component. We can expect further decisions in this sphere."

Addressing the same correspondent on the search for a compromise within the government regarding economic policy, Chubays says: "Assessing the situation on the whole, I would say that in my opinion, the present composition of the government does not reflect the results of the referendum."

A correspondent of MOSKOVSKIYE NOVOSTI asks about the best way to deal with privatization vouchers. He says the government has not made it clear enough to voucher holders that they were running a financial risk. Chubays responds: "According to our estimates no less than 10 million or, most probably, a much bigger number of citizens have already been able to use their vouchers at voucher auctions held all over Russia; to date over 1,800 of them have been held. Statistics show that at the auctions already held the real price of a voucher ranged between 55,000 and 60,000 rubles. This is the actual price of the shares bought with one voucher by a participant in a voucher auction." He adds that risk is unavoidable.

Answering a KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA reporter, Chubays says that stratification of society in terms of income is inevitable and it would be hypocritical to pretend that privatization could be implemented without it. Talking to a SEGODNYA correspondent, Chubays says: "I can tell you frankly: today, perhaps for the first time in more than 18 months of my work, I know that privatization cannot be defeated by anyone now, however much some people might want it." He adds that in some regions of Russia as many as 80, 90 or 95 percent of small businesses have been fully privatized."

A correspondent of KOMMERSANT asks about the consequences of all taxes being halved, as suggested by Khasbulatov. Chubays says the idea is absurd. The same correspondent asks how Chubays feels about Khasbulatov's attacks on him. Chubays replies that Khasbulatov's attacks always confirm in him the belief that he is moving in the right direction.

A Radio Liberty reporter asks about the decision of the new president of Kalmykiya, Kirsan Ilyumzhinov, to halt privatization in his republic. Is that a reversal of policy? Chubays says no, that was done in order to investigate some malpractices, and after 15 June the process of privatization should be resumed.

A FINANCIAL TIMES correspondent asks what the government will do to create favorable conditions for foreign investment. Chubays says the vital foundation for this is decentralization. All decisions should be made on a local level. One of the drawbacks of this, however, is the lack of information. The government has decided to set up an information center for Russian and foreign investors. After the April referendum, western investors became more eager to get involved in Russian privatization because no political dangers threaten the reform in Russia at this stage.

Host Sergey Torchinskiy then familiarizes the participants with some details of Chubays's life and work. Some personal questions follow. Torchinskiy then asks about privatizing television companies in Russia. Chubays replies that it is not forbidden to privatize them, but only with government consent. There are no restrictions on setting up new private broadcasting companies. Torchinskiy suggests that television companies should be privatized by wide circles of shareholders, then the media would be responsible to the public. A brief series of minor questions from the panel of journalists concludes the session.

Yeltsin Decree Amends Retail Oil Prices

LD2405170893 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1600 GMT 24 May 93

[Text] President Yeltsin has signed a decree under which Clause 1 of his decree of 9 April this year on measures for streamlining the formation of prices for petroleum and petroleum products for 1993 will remain in effect until 25 May this year. The clause in question says retail prices for petroleum products should remain at the level in effect on 1 March 1993 for all consumers and enterprises. This provision thereby becomes invalid after 25 May.

Lifting of Oil Price Restrictions Welcomed

LD2505110293 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1037 GMT 25 May 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Sergey Podyampolski]

[Text] Moscow May 25 TASS—Russian Deputy Prime Minister Boris Fedorov welcomed the lifting of limitations on oil prices by Boris Yeltsin saying the decision to control the prices was adopted for political reasons before the April 25 referendum on trust to the president.

Fedorov told reporters on Tuesday [25 May] that the Finance Ministry was against the limitations which resulted in 100-150 billion rouble losses.

"The pre-referendum decisions cost us a total of seven trillion roubles. It is hard to fulfil them, but possible", he added.

If at least a half of the amount is compensated for by increased budget revenues the final budget deficit will not go beyond the planned limits, he said.

Money Circulation Figures for First Quarter Released

LD2505083893 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 0255 GMT 25 May 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Pavel Gordeyev]

[Text] Moscow, May 25—During the first quarter of this year the Russian Central Bank put 833 billion rubles into circulation, which is more than half the money supply for all of 1992. ITAR-TASS Was told by the Central Bank's Statistics Department that at the end of the first quarter money emission accounted for 5.6 percent of GDP, compared to 4.9 percent during the same period last year.

Media Issues

Chernomyrdin Signs Decree Supporting Press Ministry

LD2405211993 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1640 GMT 24 May 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Tamara Ivanova]

[Text] Moscow, 24 May—Viktor Chernomyrdin, chairman of the Russian Federation Council of Ministers, has signed a decision on ratifying support for the Russian Federation Ministry of Press and Information. As Mikhail Fedotov, Russian minister of press and public information, told an ITAR-TASS correspondent in an interview, this testifies to the fact that there are no grounds for the rumors on the disbanding of the ministry.

He stressed that in the future the government also intends to rely on the Ministry of Press and Public Information. The new provision expands the functions and aims of this department. In particular, it will be responsible for assisting in preserving a single information space for the Russian-speaking population abroad, for working out and implementing federal publishing programs, for ensuring that authors' rights are protected

in the sphere of the press and mass media, for the licensing of publishing and printing, and many other functions.

At the same time, Mikhail Fedotov stated that "when the ministry carries out all of its functions it might well disappear." This time will come, according to him, "when we arrive at a normal market, and the mass media and book publishing do not need to be saved from hunger, poverty, and general wholesale death."

Constitutional Court Hits Media 'Pressure' Over May Day

PM2505090193 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 22 May 93 First Edition p 1

[Unattributed report: "Mischief Makers in Their Element"]

[Text] The Russian Federation Constitutional Court Press Service has made a statement which runs as follows:

"Instead of the advertised program on Russian Television during the evening of 20 May (repeated 21 May in the morning), B. Kurkova, former director of the 'Russia' Federal Television Service, M. Poltoranin, director of the Federal Information Center, the lawyer A. Makarov, and other persons made an appearance.

"During their discussion they made unsubstantiated accusations against the Russian Federation Constitutional Court. Thus, in connection with the events of 1 May in Moscow, a man calling himself a lawyer stated that the Constitutional Court judges have 'blood on their hands.' Although, in publicly uttering these insults, it is unlikely that he was aware of their provocative tone. But this, it seems, is the logic of political behavior, designed to generate a succes de scandale.

"At a time when a petition is being examined with a view to checking the constitutionality of decisions to eliminate the 'Russia' Federal Television Service and the Federal Information Center, a television appearance of this sort involving the parties concerned cannot be viewed as anything other than a blatant attempt to put pressure on the Constitutional Court."

Congress Media Resolution 'In Line With' Constitution

PM2505101993 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 25 May 93 p 1

[Unattributed report: "Dispute on Freedom of Speech"]

[Text] The Constitutional Court is examining the constitutionality of the Ninth Congress of People's Deputies Decree "On Measures To Ensure Freedom of Speech in State Television and Radio Broadcasting and Information Services." Doctor of Juridical Sciences Suren Avakyan, who spoke in his capacity as the Court's expert during the case, rejected the petitioner's charges and ruled the Congress decree to be in line with the Russian Federation Constitution. The Congress has the right, he added, to adopt both normative and administrative acts. However, Suren Avakyan charged the petitioner with "altering the subject of the dispute itself" by, according to him, "endeavoring to prevent the soviets from influencing the activity of television and radio broadcasting so as to keep it dependent on the executive alone." It is clear from the expert's findings that "the television and radio broadcasting system has become dependent on one branch of power alone—the executive." By its decree, he stressed, the Congress "is trying to restore the balance of powers whereby all three branches, rather than just one branch—the executive—act as constitutional guarantors of television and radio broadcasting's independence."

The Constitutional Court expert assessed the activity of the Federal Information Center as an "endeavor to serve presidential policy alone."

New Statute Updates Media Ministry's Functions

PM2505105993 Moscow ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI in Russian 25 May 93 p 1

[Unattributed report under "Council of Ministers: Monitoring" rubric: "Powers: Statute on Press and Mass Information Ministry Signed"]

[Text] A statute signed by [Prime Minister] Viktor Chernomyrdin states that the [Press and Mass Information] Ministry is a federal organ of executive power and has the following range of powers: It "formulates and implements measures to develop the periodical press, radio broadcasting, and television," ensures "the implementation of state policy in the sphere of book publishing," and monitors compliance with legislation on the press.

David Tsabriya, first deputy minister of the press and mass information, told your correspondent that the new statute in principle repeats last year's: The ministry's main functions remain unchanged. The document's adoption was occasioned by the need to bring its text into line with new legislation and to provide more competent legal wording relating to a number of points. Thus, the ministry will continue to register new mass media, but the charters of enterprises under its jurisdiction will now be registered by the State Committee for the Management of State Property. This also applies to editorial boards and publishing houses if they act as enterprises. But legal and economic protection of freedom of speech was and still is the chief element of the ministry's activity.

It only remains to add that the premier's signature on the statute on the Press and Mass Information Ministry finally puts an end to the rumors of its possible disbandment, merger with the Federal Information Center, etc.

Military Issues

More Black Sea Fleet Ships Join Russian Navy

LD2405201393 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1635 GMT 24 May 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Roman Zadunayskiy]

[Text] Moscow, 24 May—Another 12 ships hoisted the St. Andrew flag this morning, joining the 29 ships and vessels of Black Sea Fleet Rear Services Department No. 756 and the 16th Black Sea Fleet Brigade.

This brings to a total of 127 the number of Black Sea Fleet vessels and ships that have hoisted the Russian Federation Navy flag between 18 and 24 May.

Arms Export Officials Concerned by Falling Sales

OW2505013093 Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel and Orbita Networks in Russian 1845 GMT 18 May 93

[A. Ostrovskiy VoyenTV, Defense Ministry Television Studio, report; from the "Utro" program]

[Text] Oboron-eksport [Military Exports Directorate] is marking its 40th anniversary at a difficult time. Unfortunately, in recent years the proportion of Russia's arms sales has decreased from 38 to 17 percent, something the competitors immediately took advantage of. For instance the U.S. proportion increased twofold from 30 to 60 percent. Presently, it appears that Russian politicians are beginning to understand that weapons are not immoral goods if their sale leads to an improvement in the people's living standards, if it is directed at developing the nation's intellect and, finally, at maintaining the security interests of the world community.

The biggest international arms and military equipment sales exhibition in history was held in February in Abu Dhabi, the capital of the United Arab Emirates. The Russian exhibit was the most representative. It consisted of more than 370 samples of the latest equipment, of which 150 were being shown abroad for the first time. Today, a number of arms sales agreements have already been signed. Russia once again has an opportunity to become one of the leaders and to become a trendsetter of arms export policies. [video cuts to show Sergey Karaoglanov, chairman of "Oboron-eksport," in an office talking to an off-screen reporter]

[Begin Karaoglanov recording] First, we must not lose our old markets. In other words, we must absolutely pay a lot of attention to countries of the former Warsaw Pact, our closest neighbors, and we should not forget the countries that have withdrawn from us, Latvia and the other Baltic states. We must also keep our old partners—India, Syria, Iran, Bulgaria; you know our old partners—and begin serious, consistent, well thought-out, and thorough work aimed at penetrating new markets. [end recording]

Grachev Interviewed on Army Reform

PM2505144393 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 25 May 93 pp 1,3

[Report by Sergey Knyazkov: "Reform in the Army: A Guide for the Military Press. Defense Minister Army General Pavel Grachev Meets with KRASNAYA ZVEZDA Editorial Collective"]

[Text] As has been reported, Army General Pavel Grachev, Russian minister of defense, visited the KRASNAYA ZVEZDA editorial office on 21 May. He met with military journalists in the editorial collegium's conference room.

The Army general began his conversation with the KRASNAYA ZVEZDA people with a brief analysis of the organizational development of the Russian Armed Forces, which began a year ago. During that time, the defense minister said, there have been many changes in the Russian Army. We can now say that in the organizational and the moral-political plane the foundation has now been laid for qualitatively new Armed Forces. In the time that has elapsed a great deal of work has been done to develop the actual concept of military organizational development in the new conditions, structural reorganization has begun, and a great deal has been done in the sphere of the withdrawal of forces from beyond Russia's borders, the creation of different groupings, and the reequipping and provision of amenities for units and formations. Significant breakthroughs have been achieved in the social sphere. Certainly not everything is plain sailing. Indeed, we are having to operate in conditions of economic and political instability. Nonetheless, only a curmudgeon would say that nothing is changing in the Army, that the reforms are not happening. They are happening! It is a difficult, contradictory process, but they are happening!

It is nice for me to be able to say here, in the KRASNAYA ZVEZDA editorial office, that over the past year your paper and your journalists have made their own contribution to the organizational development of the Russian Army.

The complete evaluation of the winter training period is now almost ready. Groups of Defense Ministry assessors are returning from the Pacific Ocean Fleet and from the Far East Military District. The Leningrad Military District and the region adjoining it were assessed a little earlier. The results of the work show that for maybe the first time in the past three or four years the forces started to get the basic question of combat training properly organized in 1992 and at the beginning of 1993.

Despite being considerably undermanned, we managed to raise the standard of combat training, and the results of the evaluation show that some subunits, units, and formations obtained consistently good ratings. Although it has to be admitted, Army General Grachev stated, that

the vast majority of units obtained only satisfactory ratings, and two units even obtained unsatisfactory marks.

There was a marked improvement in the standard of combat training in the Ground Forces. Things are pretty good in the Air Force, and it is particularly gratifying to see that fuel is now available and the pilots have started flying. Whereas in 1991 pilots were getting in only 20-25 hours' flying time, and some only 12, the average is already 30-35 hours—this is practically 50 percent of the annual norm.

Servicemen in the Strategic Missile Forces are showing pretty good results. The results are a little lower in the Navy and Air Defense Forces. There are objective and subjective reasons for this. An objective factor for the Air Defense Forces is the fact that they are more in need of reform than any other component of the Armed Forces. All this is due to the withdrawal of military units from the territory of nearby foreign parts. At the same time, sectors that the country's Air Defense Forces cannot cover at the moment are being taken care of pretty well on the whole in conjunction with the Ground Forces' Air Defense Forces, the defense minister stressed.

The organizational development of the Russian Army and the combat training of the forces have been taking place amid a very fierce political struggle. I want to make it clear that we have weathered attacks from various quarters, and you journalists must have noticed that all manner of methods, including dirty ones, have been used in an effort to break up officers' collectives and set them against one another. Basically, it was prompted by a wish to provoke the Army. As defense minister, I am grateful to all the commissioned and warrant officers for not yielding to the provocations and not taking different sides of the barricades.

Of course, this was due to a great deal of effort by the supreme commander in chief, President Boris Yeltsin and the Defense Ministry leadership. We had very reliable support from the new government, headed by Viktor Stepanovich Chernomyrdin. And, of course, the questions that were resolved in the social sphere, in particular the increase in pay, significantly stabilized the situation in the forces. Moreover, people are aware that despite the vast number of officers without accommodations, construction of housing is going ahead at a tremendous rate. There are districts where construction has increased six times over compared with the secure years! Generally speaking, it is somewhere in the region of three times over.

The defense minister went on to talk about the main tasks the Defense Ministry intends to tackle in 1993. First and foremost, the withdrawal of Russian forces from the territory of nearby foreign parts will be essentially completed. Housing construction will be another important matter.

Yet another important task this year is the improvement of the Armed Forces' structure. This will be the year of the approval of plans for the operational use of categories of the Armed Forces and also of military districts, fleets, and individual armies. I get many questions about military doctrine, the defense minister said. I can say that it has been completed and sent to the country's Security Council for its consideration. The political part of the doctrine has already been examined, and the military and military-technical parts remain. When they have been examined the documents will be handed to the Supreme Soviet for ratification. It is to be hoped that there will be a positive decision. If so, Russia will have a military doctrine in the form of a document for the first time.

Army General Pavel Grachev went on to assess the KRASNAYA ZVEZDA editorial board's work over the past year. He said, in particular, that the paper has changed for the better since reregistration and the proper adjustments. We at the Defense Ministry believe that the editorial board has basically succeeded in determining the correct line and choosing the right tone for items, which essentially show a balanced, responsible, and sober-minded journalistic approach and a desire to affirm all that contributes to the creation of the new Russia and strengthening of its statehood. Perhaps the politicized approach, the sensations and scandals some publications rely on, is effective in that it attracts certain categories of readers. But this is absolutely unacceptable for a military paper, for the paper that represents the Armed Forces and the Defense Ministry. It, like the army itself, should be above political games of any kind and should serve as a stabilization factor in the life of society.

Another important principle I would mention in today's KRASNAYA ZVEZDA is the desire to ensure the paper is of practical use to its readers. Indicative in this respect is your campaign to explain the "military package" of laws. The numerous consultations and answers to questions which appear in the paper are often useful and interesting. The desire for more active treatment of the historical theme deserves support. Many readers are pleased with your "Arsenal" series. There was a pretty good reaction in the forces to the initial efforts to start publicizing and propagandizing army service. One could name some other journalistic discoveries and successes. But it is more useful today to talk about the unresolved problems, about what one would like to see improved in KRASNAYA ZVEZDA.

The Defense Ministry leadership sees KRASNAYA ZVEZDA as an important means of influencing military collectives and of getting feedback, a means of implementing the military reform, Army General Pavel Grachev stressed. If one is making these demands, there is plenty of potential. Indeed, KRASNAYA ZVEZDA informs its readers about the course of the reforms and about what is being done at the Defense Ministry and General Staff and in districts, groups of forces, and fleets. Nonetheless, the information is sometimes not

regular and prompt enough. Many important decisions, views, and events are still not covered by KRASNAYA ZVEZDA. The defense minister cited as an example the lack of proper information and analytical material on the results of the Defense Ministry assessors' work in the Pacific Ocean Fleet and Far East Military District. At the same time, Army General Pavel Grachev noted that it is not only the paper's fault. We are faced with the need to reform and strengthen the Defense Ministry's information structures, he said. In many respects we are not happy with their work. We are taking steps, which include strengthening these structures with the best trained journalists.

Ideally, Army General Grachev went on to stress, it should be arranged in such a way that the reader of KRASNAYA ZVEZDA is perfectly clear both with regard to the strategy and tactics of the military reform and with regard to all its specific aspects.

But for all its importance, information is only half the story. The paper must assist the reforms in the provinces. In this connection the defense minister pointed out that the paper pays too little attention to covering questions of the combat training of forces and contract service by soldiers and sergeants.

All in all, Pavel Grachev said in conclusion, I would like KRASNAYA ZVEZDA to aim always and in all things for creative and constructive work. The ideas of patriotism and service of the Fatherland, ideas linked to strengthening Russian statehood and instilling in Russians respect for their own history, a sense of national pride, a sense of honor and dignity—all this is essential for people in the Army and in society in general if they are to weather the difficulties and bring about the victory of the reforms and the renewal and ascent of Russia as a great power again.

The defense minister then answered KRASNAYA ZVEZDA journalists' questions.

Servicemen on Contract Mainly Rural Workers

PM2505112193 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 25 May 93 p 2

[Report by Igor Chernyak: "Only Tractor Drivers Going Into Battle"]

[Text] A leader of the Russian Federation Defense Ministry Main Directorate for the Training and Distribution of Cadres has announced that in December 1992 the government allocated 6 billion rubles [R] to recruit 100,000 servicemen under contract for the Russian Army. As of today slightly over 60,000 volunteers have been recruited and about half of them are serving in the Western group of forces and are on virtually double pay.

Sociological studies conducted in January through March in a number of military districts and fleets have shown that recruitment under contract initially proceeded slowly because of the relatively low salaries (R15,000-R18,000) and the lack of firm state guarantees to assign housing and other social benefits to the new "professionals."

The Defense Ministry then suggested its own option. When it became obvious that the army understaffing situation would not be successfully changed "piecemeal," it embarked on emergency measures and in April announced that their salaries would be almost doubled. As a result the number of volunteers who wanted to become professionals increased drastically.

But a new problem arose unexpectedly and unpredictably: Alarm calls began to reach the Defense Ministry from the heads of the local administrations: Those anxious to serve under contract included mainly those who had served in the army and after serving had been employed in machine operating work in agriculture. That is understandable: The salary of a "professional" is R35,000-40,000 and more and today looks more attractive than a tractor driver's salary of R15,000-16,000. But some military specialists believe that this fuss is a shortlived phenomenon. The increase in inflation is so high that the increase in the share of the military budget geared to servicemen under contract will not keep up with it.

Supreme Soviet

May Day Investigation Proceeds in 'Utmost Secrecy'

LD2405172893 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1030 GMT 24 May 93

[by ITAR-TASS parliamentary correspondent Yuriy Filippov]

[Text] Moscow, 24 May—A sitting of the parliamentary commission set up to investigate the May Day disturbances in Moscow began today, in an atmosphere of utmost secrecy. Deputy Mikhail Chelnokov, a member of the commission who was present at the sitting, said that "all sorts of organizations are showing interest in the investigation materials," and it is therefore undesirable to divulge any information on the commission's work before the investigation is completed. An opinion was also voiced that prior to that point nothing should be published on the investigation of the May Day events being carried out by the deputies. It is unlikely that the press will be admitted to the commission's sittings before the end of its work.

It was revealed that the commission continued questioning witnesses today.

Presidium Discusses Statistics, Elections

LD2405195393 Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel Network in Russian 1700 GMT 24 May 93

[From the "Novosti newscast]

[Text] Parliament is often criticized for inadequate supervision of the implementation of its own decisions, for being too slack on the executive. Today's sitting of the presidium was designed to make some amends.

State Statistics Committee Chairman Pavel Guzhvin made a report. He revealed that in the first four months of this year, as compared to the same period last year, there was a 19 percent drop in industrial output. Other figures were also cited—all of them make one sad at the state of our country's economy, but also proud of the unbiased statistics, which no longer try to please the powers that be. However, both the chairman of the State Statistics Committee and the presidium members noted the defects of the statistics service, which does not give the authorities and the population adequate coverage of the activities of commercial banks and exchanges, and has also stopped compiling reports on productivity.

The next speaker was Oleg Lobov, who called on the presidium to endorse credits to industry after all. According to Lobov, not a single enterprise can work adequately at present. The presidium instructed the Central Bank to allocate 300 billion rubles [R] for conversion purposes and R400 billion for investment in industry. The issue has been included on the agenda of a parliamentary session.

However, it was not only the economy that was discussed today—politics was also discussed. Deputy Sheynis made a report on a draft law on elections to Russia's Supreme Soviet. The working group proposes a bilateral parliament consisting of a federal assembly and a state duma. Deputies of the upper chamber are to be elected by constituent members of the Federation. As for the lower chamber, the state duma, the procedure is more complicated: 50 percent of deputies are to be elected in one-mandate constituencies, the other 50 percent from influential political parties and movements. Which ones? Who is to decide that? It was obvious that the draft law would trigger off a passionate discussion. This is exactly what happened. In the end, it was decided to send it to parliamentary committees and commissions, and then to discuss it jointly at a presidium sitting and at a session of the Supreme Soviet.

Parliament To Decide 2 Jun on Constitutional Conference

LD2405174893 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 1700 GMT 24 May 93

[Text] Critical remarks were addressed to the leadership of the Russian Parliament today at a session of the Presidium of the Russian Supreme Soviet. Yevgeniy Ambartsumov, chairman of the Supreme Soviet Committee for International Affairs, stated that the Supreme Soviet has not formulated a position regarding the constitutional conference being convened by the president on 5 June. Chairing the session, Ruslan Khasbulatov's deputy Yuriy Voronin explained to the speaker that the Supreme Soviet of Russia which will reconvene on 2 June will be able that same day to make a decision on participation in the constitutional conference.

'Special Deputies' Commission' Established

LD2405224193 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1507 GMT 24 May 93

[By ITAR-TASS parliamentary correspondent Ivan Novikov]

[Text] Moscow, 24 May—The Russian Federation Supreme Soviet is setting up a special deputies' commission. Its main purpose is to carry out a parliamentary investigation of violations of legality by state bodies and officials in connection with specific events. This commission is being set up to investigate these events. Today the Supreme Soviet Presidium considered a draft statute on this commission and submitted it for a decision to the appropriate committees of parliament.

In particular, it establishes that the commission has the right to call any citizen of Russia to its meetings, no matter what his or her position, and to require any bodies, enterprises, establishments, or organizations to provide it with any information and documents which are necessary for an objective study of the facts being investigated by the commission.

The draft statute on the commission says that within the framework of its competence the commission will cooperate with the Ministry of Internal Affairs, the Ministry of Security, the procuracy, and the court. But it has no right to substitute for the bodies of inquiry, investigation, or court, or to lessen their legal independence.

Regional Affairs

Khasbulatov Arrives in Pskov for 'Working Visit'

LD2305184393 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1833 GMT 23 May 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Boris Vlasov]

[Text] Pskov May 23 TASS—Russian Parliamentary Speaker Ruslan Khasbulatov arrived in the Pskov region from St. Petersburg today. His one-day working visit to Pskov begins on Monday.

Khasbulatov is interested in the results of conversion which gave a considerable advantage to the Cherskaya agrarian farm.

On Monday, Khasbulatov is going to acquaint himself with the progress of the establishment of new border guard and customs check points on the Pskov section of the Russo-Estonian border.

Khasbulatov is also expected to visit historic places on the ancient Pskov land. Later in the day, Khasbulatov will meet with deputies of regional, city and district councils and heads of regional administrations.

Visits Converted Missile Base

LD2405081493 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 0700 GMT 24 May 93

[Text] Russian parliament Chairman Ruslan Khabulatov, who is on a working visit to Pskov Oblast, visited the agricultural firm Cherskaya this morning. This is a former secret military facility. The workers are setting up a complex to process agricultural produce on the the site of former missile positions, which have been dismantled in accordance with the reduction in nuclear weapons. After his visit to the agricultural firm, Ruslan Khasbulatov left for the border region of Pskov Oblast in order to familiarize himself with the layout of the Russo-Estonian border zone.

Says Soviets Cannot Be Dissolved

LD2405201093 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1900 GMT 24 May 93

[From the "Vesti" newscast]

[Text] Supreme Soviet Chairman Ruslan Khasbulatov spent most of the day in Pskov Oblast. I must say quite categorically that we will not allow the representative authority to be dissolved; we will not allow the soviets to be dissolved. If anyone wants to really try to carry out actions aimed against the existing constitution, it will be tantamount to staging a coup d'etat. This is what Ruslan Khasbulatov, parliamentary speaker, said today at a meeting with the deputies of Pskov Oblast Soviet, heads of administrations of towns and rayons of Pskov Oblast, and heads of agrarian and industrial enterprises.

At meetings with the people of Pskov Oblast, held at the Cherskaya agricultural firm and the Lyubyatovo joint stock company, Ruslan Khasbulatov showed he understands and sympathizes with the difficulties being experienced by agriculturalists and industrial enterprises alike. What was meant here is that these difficulties are caused, above all, by the incompetence of the government structures.

Chernomyrdin Visits Ulyanovsk, Notes 'Tough' Economic Measures

LD2105174893 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1506 GMT 21 May 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Sergey Podyapolskiy]

[Text] Ulyanovsk, the Volga region, May 21 TASS - The Russian economy has entered a stage when it needs a tough credit and monetary policy, Russian Prime Minister Viktor Chernomyrdin told today's meeting with Ulyanovsk regional administration heads and chairmen of local councils.

He said the government will firmly keep to the economic reform course, with no deviations left or right. He said they will make corrections as need be and stressed the tough credit policy should be accompanied with a work to saturate the goods market.

Speaking of economic reforms in Russian regions, the premier noted they should look for specific forms of transition to the market and stressed the government will not abandon de-monopolization, de-nationalization and privatization.

Returns to Moscow

LD2105203693 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1916 GMT 21 May 93

[Text] Moscow May 21 TASS—After completing his one-day working trip to the city of Uliyanovsk, Russian Prime Minister Viktor Chernomyrdin returned to Moscow on Friday night [21 May].

During the first half of the day, the Russian premier familiarized himself with the "Aviastar" aircraft factory, the largest in Russia. Viktor Chernomyrdin also had a meeting with the heads of administrations and the chairmen of district soviets of the Uliyanovsk region.

The Russian Government, the premier said, will firmly continue the course of political reforms, not retreating either to the left or to the right. It is necessary to supply the market with goods, in parallel with conducting a strict credit policy, the Russian premier pointed out.

The head of the Russian cabinet spoke in support of the president's draft of a new constitution. According to Viktor Chernomyrdin, the fundamental law will allow more freedom to the government and give it the possibility to work "without looking back".

Earlier on Friday, in reply to a question by ITAR-TASS, Viktor Chernomyrdin said that some countries of the Commonwealth of Independent States were probing the prospects for a possible form of their association in the Russian Federation.

Chechen People Urged To Protect Constitutional System

LD2505080993 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0734 GMT 25 May 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Sharip Asuyev]

[Text] Groznyy May 25 TASS—The Chechen Parliament, government and Islamic leaders urged citizens to uphold the constitution and restore lawful power in the republic that can bring it out of the crisis. The address circulated in Groznyy today says that "an illegal authoritarian regime" has actually been installed in the republic. This led to unprecedented confrontation among the Chechen people. "A civil war can break out any moment", it is said in the address.

The Chechen Parliament, popular confidence government formed by it and Islamic leaders said that this war can yet be prevented. It is necessary urgently to proclaim

the priority of national accord over political ambitions. The authors of the address also stated that they reject the very idea of the forcible settlement of the conflict. We object to violence, says the address.

A nation-wide rally is called today in Groznyy on the initiative of members of the Chechen Parliament whose activity has been proclaimed suspended by Dzhokhar Dudayev. The rally is to confirm the need for a referendum as the only means of indicating a civilised way out of the long drawn-out crisis of power in Chechnya.

Dudayev's Nephew Killed in Shooting Incident

LD2505093493 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0916 GMT 25 May 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent]

[Text] Groznyy May 25 TASS—23-year-old Shamil, nephew of Chechen President Dzhokhar Dudayev, was attacked by armed men today morning in Theatre Square here, where an opposition meeting is under way.

ITAR-TASS was informed by the CHECHENPRESS news service that Shamil received a grave bullet wound during the clash and died in hospital. The Chechen Security Ministry reports that several more men from among Dudayev's supporters and opponents were wounded during the shooting.

According to CHECHENPRESS, the centre of the city is blocked by law enforcement troops. A group of parliament members, led by Yusup Soslambekov, is trying to stage a meeting of their supporters against the leadership of the Chechen Republic.

Law Enforcement Bodies Consolidate in Chechnya

LD2405125293 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1225 GMT 24 May 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Sharip Asuyev]

[Text] Groznyy May 24 TASS—Law enforcement bodies in Chechnya paralyzed by political confrontation now seem to be the first to rally from the crisis. Popular confidence government headed by Yaragiy Mamodayev today decreed to restore to the Chechen Department of Militia its previous name, the Interior Ministry. The government formed by the Chechen Parliament is not recognised by Dzhokhar Dudayev. The decree specifies the ministry's structure and outlines measures for improving technological equipment of services and perfecting working and living conditions of staffers.

Further events in the republic torn by political contradictions may largely depend on the position of power-wielding structures and, specifically, the Interior Ministry, the most powerful of them. As was reported, staffers of the Ministry of Security (this is how the Ministry of the Interior was called) proclaimed their neutrality at the height of the crisis lasting for almost three months. Dudayev accused them of betrayal and announced that the central apparatus of the ministry is dissolved. Lower structures were placed under the control of the republic's commandant appointed under Dudayev's decree for the duration of the state of emergency.

Colonel Musa Atabayev was appointed by the parliament as chief of the Interior Ministry. He believes that maintaining law and order in the republic and combatting crime are the ministry's top priorities. This effort can be effective only if exerted in contact with all sober forces in society, the minister told ITAR-TASS. He intends to turn for moral support for the militia to elders and religious authorities in all cities and villages of the republic. Atabayev refused to assess to the political situation in Chechnya. He said it is a duty of organs of the Interior Ministry to protect from criminal encroachments every citizen regardless of his political orientation.

Chechen Opposition Affirms Intention To Hold Referendum

LD2405135393 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1313 GMT 24 May 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Sharip Asuyev]

[Text] Groznyy May 24 TASS—Opposition to President Dzhokhar Dudayev in Chechnya is actively preparing a referendum on the republic's state structure fixed for June 5. Lecha Umkhayev, chairman of the socio-political movement Daimokh (Fatherland), told a news conference in Groznyy today that the referendum will be held despite all threats. "Relying on military force of his supporters, Dudayev may ignore the referendum's results, but he is unable to prohibit to citizens of the republic to express their attitude to the present ruling regime," another leader of the opposition, Academician Salambek Khadzhiyev, told the news conference.

As was already reported, the Chechen parliament decreed to hold the referendum on June 5 to seek civilised means of overcoming a long drawn-out political crisis in the republic. The idea of a referendum is supported by the majority of public movements and parties, by religious authorities and, going by Lecha Umkhayev, by no less than 380 out of the 428 chiefs of the local administrations.

Dudayev and his supporters are categorically against the referendum. They assert that this is no time for the referendum and proclaim the parliamentary decision on its holding to be illegal.

Three questions will be put to voting: Is the institute of presidency needed in Chechnya? Do you have confidence in the president? Do you have confidence in the parliament? Clearly the first question is central.

"If people answer all the three questions in the affirmative, we shall admit that we are not strong enough and we

shall continue the effort to depose Dudayev by constitutional methods. If people give the three negative answers, Dudayev and his supporters will have to go, Umkhayev said.

The opposition does not say by what methods it can make the present authorities resign, but it hints that some methods exist. It is a week point of the opposition that it has no way of making its opinion known to the majority of the population. Opposition forces have no access to radio and television. Newspapers supporting them are prohibited. This alone clearly indicates that the present regime in Chechnya is totalitarian, Khadzhiyev said at the news conference.

Situation in North Ossetia, Ingushetia Under Control

LD2405133293 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1252 GMT 24 May 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondents Valeriy Shanayev and Mikhail Shevtsov]

[Text] Vladikavkaz May 24 TASS—Russian peacekeeping forces fully control the situation in North Ossetia and Ingushetia, where the state of emergency regime still remains in force. No shooting, raids on check posts or interethnic armed clashes have been registered in the region over the past 24 hours.

At the same time, according to information released by the interior ministries of North Ossetia and Ingushetia, the criminogenic [as received] situation in the two republics remains tense. Twenty crimes were committed and several other incidents were recorded lately. Forty people were detained for administrative offences and almost 2,000 motor vehicles were checked. Five units of firearms, several grenades and hundreds of rounds of ammunition were confiscated from local inhabitants.

ITAR-TASS was told at the press centre of the Supreme Soviet of North Ossetia that the Presidium of the republic's parliament met in Vladikavkaz today to discuss "proposals and remarks to the drafts of the new constitution (fundamental law) of the Russian Federation, submitted by the Russian president and the Constitutional Commission of the Russian Supreme Soviet".

The session approved the proposals and remarks to the drafts of the new Russian constitution, submitted by the Constitutional Commission of North Ossetia. North Ossetian representatives were sent to Moscow to complete work on the final version of the fundamental law.

Tensions Rise in Dagestan Area During State of Emergency

LD2405140193 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1333 GMT 24 May 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Gadzhiy Shamov]

[Text] Makhachkala May 24 TASS—A disquieting situation persists in the Khasavyurt district of Dagestan. A state of emergency was introduced there for one month as of May 17. Confrontation between Dargins and Kumyks in Kostek and Novyi Kostek villages degenerated into a conflict with the use of fire arms. Units of interior forces stationed in Dagestan were alerted. OMON [special purpose militia detachment] elite militia and militia officers from nearby districts and cities were brought into the zone of the conflict.

Emergency measures were taken for the reason that the conflict threatens the lives of hundreds of people. There is a danger of the outbreak of ethnic clashes. One person was already killed. There are wounded.

The conflict in Kostek broke out because of a dispute over land, 18 hectares divided into plots for individual construction.

The role of elders and religious leaders enhances in this alarming situation. Imams of district mosques visited both villages. Due to their efforts and to measures of the republic's leaders the situation is under control. The conflicting sides have been pulled apart. Units of law enforcement bodies and soldiers of internal forces are now within the dividing corridor. Intensive negotiations are in progress and a compromise is expected to be reached.

Vladivostok Could Be 'Closed' Again To Keep Out Criminals

PM2405121893 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 21 May 93 p 1

[Sergey Avdeyev report: "Back to the Era of Great Geographical Closures?"]

[Text] Barely having opened itself to the world, Vladivostok is again preparing to become a closed city—for CIS citizens. There are plans to introduce a strict visa regime both for them and for foreigners.

Announcing this on local television, acting head of administration Ivan Abroskin stressed that this is being done because the number of crimes committed by people coming from former Transcaucasian republics has increased sharply of late. A special kray-wide conference of law-enforcement organs has been held on the "Caucasian question."

It is unclear at the present time how visa control will be implemented in practice, since the inhabitants of former fraternal republics do not have the official status of foreigners.

But if we bear in mind that I. Abroskin made his statement during the election campaign for the vacated post of mayor of Vladivostok, and that his electorate, which has not yet grown unaccustomed to living in a closed city, fervently support this idea, it is entirely obvious that the city administration will strenuously try to "force through" this decision.

General: No Plans To Increase Kaliningrad Troop Numbers

OW2505013393 Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel and Orbita Networks in Russian 1845 GMT 18 May 93

[By S. Chekalin from Kaliningrad; from the "Utro" program]

[Text] Another event worth reporting on is the maneuvers of the group of ground forces presently deployed in Russia's westernmost enclave. My colleagues both in the West and in Lithuania are heating up passions in the press over a threatening increase of arms and armed forces here. [video shows tanks moving and firing guns] It was noticeable that mostly officers and women in military uniform participated in the exercise. What is this, the professional army? [video cuts to show Army Colonel General V.M. Semenov, commander in chief of Russian Ground Forces, talking to unidentified off-screen reporter]

[Begin recording] [Semenov] We are presently engaged in active work involving induction by contract [prizyv po kontraktu]. We have already enjoyed certain success, but we are not resting on our laurels. Some things have worked out, and we have acquired a certain amount of experience. The fact that you saw women... yes, we are actively attracting women into Army service. I am satisfied that our group here in Kaliningrad Oblast, the overwhelming majority of officers, stand firmly in their positions.

[Reporter] The group here is a special one. The main question is: Are you planning to increase your strength here?

[Semenov] No, we have no plans to increase the number of our military formations or units. [end recording]

I would like to add to this statement of the commander in chief of ground forces, that not a single unit of the Western Group of Forces [in Germany] will be redeployed to Kaliningrad Oblast.

Rostov Prosecutor Protests Representative's Suspension

LD2405142993 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 0610 GMT 24 May 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Vyacheslav Bondarenko]

[Text] Rostov-na-Donu, 24 May (ITAR-TASS)—Rostov Oblast's procurator, Albert Posidelov, has protested to Aleksandr Popov, chairman of the Rostov Soviet of People's Deputies, about the decision of the 13th session of the oblast soviet concerning suspension of the duties of Vladimir Zubkov, the Russian president's representative for Rostov oblast.

The protest stresses that "the session's decision is unlawful and should be repealed." The opinion of the procuracy is based on the fact that the institute of presidential representatives was established by appropriate presidential decrees. The law says that these decrees must be carried out, unless they are repealed by the Russian Federation Supreme Soviet on the basis of a Constitutional Court ruling to the effect that they contravene the Constitution. As for an oblast soviet, it is not entitled to abolish executive institutions established by the president.

For his part, Vladimir Zubkov, the Russian president's representative for Rostov oblast, has sent a letter to Aleksandr Popov in which he expresses hope that "there will be no bitter fight for power in the Don region" and that "incumbent deputies of all levels will muster courage and resign by the end of the year, as their counterparts did in Kalmykia."

Volgograd Authorities Oppose Yeltsin Draft

PM2405104193 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 22 May 93 First Edition p 4

[Valeriy Kornev article: "Volgograd Authorities Still Oppose Reforms"]

[Text] The debate "On the Drafts of the Russian Federation Constitution," which began on the very first day of the Volgograd Oblast Soviet session, ended quite rapidly the following day. The deputies voted for the decision to open with a paragraph formulated by Aleksandr Anipkin, former oblast committee [obkom] first secretary, to the effect that when the final draft of the constitution is elaborated, it should use the parliament's draft as its basis.

Thus, the session has crossed all the t's, dotted all the i's, and unambiguously made its choice. It would be all right if this were only on its own behalf. But the decision also states that Volgograd Oblast will be represented as a Federation component at the Constitutional Conference by Ivan Shabunin, head of the oblast administration, and Aleksandr Morozov, chairman of the oblast soviet. That is, they will be given an opportunity to use the session decision to speak for all the people of Volgograd.

In today's situation this merits serious attention.

Following their referendum defeat, opposition and conservative forces are striving to minimize its results at all costs. Particularly intensive use is being made of the tried-and-tested method of portraying their own opinion as representing opinions "from below" in order to exert pressure for the umpteenth time and again slow the process of change. This was demonstrated very graphically at the Volgograd session. Only 77 votes were needed for the Anipkin paragraph to be included in the decision, while 100 were needed for the decision to be adopted as a whole. In all, there are 250 deputies to the oblast soviet.

Yet in the referendum 53.9 percent of Volgograders delivered a vote of confidence in President Yeltsin. The

result was all the more noteworthy because the previous day the local media had given extensive coverage to the antipresidential appeal from the Oblast Soviet's Inner Soviet to residents of the oblast, which borrowed a great deal from the national-communists' propaganda arsenal. Oblast Soviet Deputy Sergey Potapov has made a fascinating analysis of the situation "from the inside." In the nine districts from which the current members of the Inner Soviet who voted for the adoption of the aforesaid appeal were elected, residents expressed the directly opposite view, answering "yes" to the first and second questions in the referendum. And that includes the district where Morozov ran.

Incidentally, there is one other noteworthy point—the question of the referendum result was excluded from the session's work. But a question formulated almost exactly the same way as the second referendum question was by the congress—"On the Progress of Economic Reform in the Oblast Since January 1992"—was examined. A report was delivered by Ivan Shabunin, head of the oblast administration. "The substantive aspect of the reforms," he stated, "is minimal." So just what, in his opinion, should economic policy be?

"A year ago," the administration head said, "in this very auditorium we adopted an appeal to the president and the government not to raise energy prices. And we were right to do so. If prices had not been raised, the situation would now be normal." The speaker returned particularly often in various ways to the question of the need to increase subsidies and loans. "The total amount of loan advances," he said, "is very small... Hence the production slump. We need credit resources." And here—in the administration head's view—is why the dollar rate remains high. The dollar, according to his calculations, should be worth 15 rubles. "Just why is the rate so high today?" the speaker asked, and he answered the question himself. "Because the government itself is involved in sales of foreign exchange. This is speculation, and the government should not be involved in speculation."

I could continue quoting statements of that kind, but the essence of them was in principle concentrated in the decision adopted by the session on the progress of economic reform. The first paragraph talks about support and approval for the measures adopted by the Inner Soviet and the oblast administration on social protection for low-income sections of the population, and on holding down price rises for bread, milk, and so forth. Then, in contrast to the first paragraph, comes the second, which I will quote verbatim: "In the course of economic reform mistakes have been made in privatizing trading enterprises and enterprises providing everyday services to the population. The unilateral and inconsistent actions in the course of the reform of agriculture, the conversion of defense enterprises, the violation of economic ties, the liberalization of foreign economic activity, and the reform of the financial and credit system have been destructive rather than creative."

It is easy to see that the criticism of the long list of spheres where "unilateral and inconsistent actions have been destructive" is aimed by no means at the administration or at the Inner Soviet. No explanation is needed as to which is the party in question. Nonetheless, Russian Federation People's Deputy Anipkin, the former Communist Party obkom first secretary, makes it clear: "We are not the ones implementing reform. This is the policy of the central executive organs of power."

Just how closely the fate of reform is linked to the selection of the presidential or parliamentary draft new constitution can be judged from the speech by Deputy Viktor Belyayev, who was one of the founders of the Volgograd organization of the Socialist Party of Working People based on the CPSU. "I appeal to the overwhelming majority of the corps of deputies," he said, "not to permit the president and his team to implement their reform policy." "The formula on private ownership must definitely be removed from the constitution," Yevgeniy Sorokin, leader of the communist faction and former first secretary of the Communist Party rayon committee, made clear. "A parliamentary republic should be chosen rather than a presidential republic. The soviets should be retained as organs of people's power. The constitution should be adopted only by the Congress of People's Deputies."

Slightly more detail needs to be given about the position of those charged with representing Volgograd Oblast as a Federation component. During the session Administration Head I. Shabunin repeatedly emphasized that he has always supported and will continue to support the soviet structure. "Otherwise the executive will overstep the mark," he said, "which is what it is already doing at top level. The only thing one of the draft constitutions lacks is a throne." Touching on the question of who should adopt the constitution, Shabunin said: "If it is to be a constitutional assembly, then who will elect it? Shakhray seems to think that it could meet in the Hotel Rossiya concert hall, be given some free beers, and adopt the constitution." The position of Oblast Soviet Chairman Morozov is unambiguous—the procedure for adopting the new fundamental law must be determined by the Congress.

The administration head and the oblast soviet chairman, who have been charged with representing the oblast as a Federation component, have essentially been delegated by deputies from opposition factions. There are 59 deputies registered with the Communist faction. The same session saw the fulfillment of the Russian National Union oblast conference decision to create formations of national patriots within the soviets—a "Russia" faction of, it was announced, 15 deputies has been set up. It is led by Russian Federation People's Deputy Mikhail Kharitonov, former second secretary of the Communist Party obkom.

Krasnoyarsk Local Constitution Viewed

PM2405122593 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
21 May 93 First Edition p 4

[Report by Aleksey Tarasov: "Krasnoyarsk Kray Draft Charter Published"]

[Text] The Russian provinces are now not only discussing the drafts of the federal Constitution but also making their own regional fundamental laws.

The official name of the extensive document made public in Krasnoyarsk, a document designed to become the local constitution, is draft charter [ustav] (fundamental legal act) of Krasnoyarsk Kray. Similar documents are being discussed and will be adopted in all Russia's krays and oblasts since the Federation Treaty has made all subjects of the Federation equal in terms of rights. The exception is the right to have the insignia of statehood—only republics can allow themselves that. But krays and oblasts have nonetheless acquired the right to elaborate and adopt documents similar to republican constitutions.

The draft charter preamble speaks primarily of respect for the history and traditions of the peoples of Siberia and, noting the presence of economic, political, and cultural features of Krasnoyarsk Kray, describes the charter as a state law basis for the kray's socioeconomic, political, and cultural life. In accordance with the first article of the draft, Krasnoyarsk Kray is a state territorial formation—a subject of the Russian Federation with the rules, commitments, and responsibility of a republic within Russia.

This draft gives absolutely no grounds for suspecting the Krasnoyarsk people of separatism, although only recently there were enough such suspicions in Moscow. It is stated that the Russian Federation constitution is the supreme law on the kray's territory. The kray charter has supremacy only within the confines of the kray's competence and powers established by the Russian Federation Constitution and the Federation Treaty. There is a list of the matters for the joint competence of federal and local powers and it is indicated that until Russian laws are adopted on specific issues the Krasnoyarsk Kray Soviet has the right to exercise its own legal regulation in these spheres.

To judge by the draft the kray's representative power is to undergo substantial reform. Its organ is to be the Krasnoyarsk Kray soviet, consisting of two chambers: the chamber of deputies and the chamber of representatives. Twenty-one deputies will be elected for a five-year term to the first chamber (a permanently operating organ of the kray soviet with the right to adopt legal acts). In fact it is today's inner soviet. The members of the second chamber—the consultative and advisory organ of the kray soviet—will be the chairmen of the organs of representative power of the kray's rayons, cities of kray subordination, and autonomous okrugs within Krasnoyarsk Kray. According to the draft the executive power will be headed by a governor elected for a five-year term by the kray's population. The largest section is devoted to principles of collaboration between the kray administration and soviet which views this question thoroughly and very, perhaps even too delicately.

No organs or organizations are allowed to interfere in the process of the elaboration, approval, and execution of the kray budget. It is planned that if the federal authorities make decisions entailing an increase in expenditure or a reduction in revenue for the kray budget, the lacking budget funds must be made up at the expense of the federal budget. Otherwise the Krasnoyarsk Kray soviet will make a decision on joint actions with the administration "with a view to satisfying the kray's legal claims."

A separate article is devoted to the kray's international relations: "Krasnoyarsk Kray is an independent participant in international and foreign economic ties with the right to conclude the relevant treaties and agreements unless that contradicts the Russian Federation Constitution and laws."

The disintegration processes in Krasnoyarsk Kray, with Khakasia, which has already left it, with Taymyr, which is actively separating itself, and with Evenki, which is so far waiting to see, are a copy of events happening on broader scales. And the separate section of the document which is to become the basis for creating a local legal space is devoted to relations between the kray and autonomous formations formally coming under the kray's jurisdiction. Following the example of the make-up of the Russian Constitution, of which the Federation Treaty should be part, it is envisaged that the kray charter will include treaties on the basic principles of relations between the autonomous formations and Krasnoyarsk Kray.

The progress of the constitutional process in the country, in particular the attitude of the creators of Russia's Fundamental Law toward the inequality which has now taken shape among the subjects of the Federation, could introduce plenty more changes and additions to the document the Krasnoyarsk people are elaborating. After the signing of the Federation Treaty thanks to the rapid lawmaking activity of the parliaments of the former autonomous formations, the Russians were again divided into people of two classes depending on their place of residence—a republic or a kray and oblast. The rights of many republics today differ strikingly from the rights enshrined in the federation treaty. And in speaking of giving a kray the powers of a republic, what will local politicians have in mind tomorrow—rights under the Federation Treaty or today's actual level of powers for the republics? One thing is obvious: In the kray corridors of power there is a sensitive attitude toward the violation of the legal parity of the subjects of the Federation. And much will depend on whether the new Russian Constitution legalizes this lack of equal rights or not, whether it considers the provisions of the "additional protocol" to the Federation treaty, which stipulates some special

rights for subjects of the Federation for which the Siberian territories have struggled.

The Russian Constitutional Court's recent decree on the legality of the direct entry of the Chukotsk autonomous formation into the Russian Federation and the refusal to allow the Taymyr autonomous formation to take part in the election of the Krasnoyarsk governor could also introduce amendments to the course of the local constitutional process. The draft charter states that Taymyr and Evenki okrugs are part of the Kray, whose borders cannot be changed without the agreement of its population, expressed through an all-kray referendum. Considering the size of the population in the okrugs, it is possible to predict in advance the unfeasibility of detaching autonomous formations from the kray. If, of course, we follow this norm. But after all there are no guarantees that in relations with Krasnoyarsk Taymyr will not for instance, follow the example of Tuva in its relations with Russia. The Tuva parliament invested the republic with the right to self-determination, right up to withdrawal from Russia, on the basis not of an all-Russian but of an all-Tuva referendum. Will Taymyr not take that step after adopting the norm of the all-Taymyr referendum?

Privatization in Kalmykia Temporarily Suspended

LD2505093593 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0750 GMT 25 May 93

[Text] Moscow May 25 TASS—President of the Kalmyk Autonomous Republic Kirsan Ilumzhinov "has grounds to believe that a number of serious abuses have been committed in the process of privatisation in the republic", according to the Vice-Premier of the Russian Government Anatoliy Chubays, who gave an interview to Ostankino Television broadcast live on Monday [24 May].

Commenting on the decision by the Kalmyk president to suspend privatisation in the republic, Chubays said that "Ilumzhinov has reasons for doing so and that his arguments cannot be refuted."

A special commission is working in the republic which should clarify the situation by June 15. However, according to Chubays, after talking to the Kalmyk president he arrived at the conclusion that any opposition of the Kalmyk leadership to the process of privatisation "is out of the question."

Jewish Oblast Oil Reserves Estimated at 100 Million Tonnes

LD2505083093 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 0020 GMT 25 May 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Viktor Gorelov]

[Text] Birobidzhan, 25 May (ITAR-TASS)—The Jewish Autonomous Oblast has estimated oil reserves of not less than 100 million tonnes, according to Feliks Ryanskiy, director of the Birobidzhan Regional Institute. He was speaking on local television.

Oil reserves have been assessed by a commission of specialists who have been studying data from many years of geophysical surveys. Their forecast is also confirmed by the presence of major oil deposits along the continuation of a geological line in the neighboring Chinese province of Heilongjiang.

U.S. oil companies are ready to carry out detailed surveys of the autonomous oblast's oil-bearing regions. The Birobidzhan institute is holding talks on the terms for surveys and on the financial details for U.S. oilmen to take part in a joint project.

International Affairs

Further on Polish President Walesa's Visit

LD2405223493 Kiev UKRINFORM in Russian 1852 GMT 24 May 93

[By UKRINFORM correspondent Viktor Demidenko]

[Text] Kiev, 24 May—The meeting between Leonid Kravchuk, president of Ukraine and Lech Walesa, president of the Republic of Poland, who was in the Ukrainian state on a three-day official visit, concluded here with the signing of a package of Ukrainian- Polish documents.

Among the documents signed were agreements on regional economic cooperation and on legal assistance in civil and criminal cases, and a treaty on up-to-the-minute notification of nuclear accidents, exchange of information on nuclear installations, and scientific cooperation in the field of nuclear safety and radiation protection.

On the same day the Consultative Committee of the presidents of both states started work in Kiev within the framework of the official visit to Ukraine of Polish President Lech Walesa.

President Leonid Kravchuk delivered a speech at the inaugural meeting of the Consultative Committee. In the opinion of the president, this committee should become one of the important bilateral bodies which will serve as an organized beginning to the development of Ukrainian-Polish relations, as well as an original instrument for efficient relations at a high level. It should be a bearer of new ideas and suggestions directed at the good of the Ukrainian and Polish peoples.

It is important, the president continued, that the committee should be able to establish an effective comprehensive analysis of the state of Ukrainian-Polish relations and mutual action in resolving problems of the central and east European region without duplicating existing joint bodies at another level. It should inform in good time the presidents of both states of the course of the implementation of bilateral agreements and submit for consideration well-grounded suggestions regarding the paths of development of good-neighborly cooperation.

In Kiev's opinion, Kravchuk remarked, Polish-Ukrainian relations have a special dimension in contemporary international relations in the central and east European region and across Europe as a whole.

There is no doubt that as a result of cardinal geopolitical changes that have taken place in the last few years on the European continent, Poland and Ukraine have been regarded as important—from the point of view of supporting the common atmosphere of stability, security, and good-neighborliness—by countries of the central and east European region. Relations between our states are strategic. We regard them as relations of a strategic partnership. The full-blooded activity of the committee will facilitate the unfolding of the harmonious and the equal interaction of our states in all areas of cooperation.

Polish President Lech Walesa then spoke. Last year, he said, was a year of many Polish-Ukrainian contacts. We signed a treaty on good-neighborliness, friendly relations, and cooperation. Poland and Ukraine, together with Slovakia and Hungary, are cooperating within the framework of the "Carpathian Euro-region." The Consultative Committee of the Presidents of Poland and Ukraine is beginning its activity. All this is evidence of the fact that the peoples can themselves decide their fate and choose the direction for the development of partnership and friendship themselves. No one else can dictate to us their will, or order how we are to live or with whom to cooperate.

Poland, Lech Walesa stressed, was the first to recognize Ukrainian independence in 1991. This was not only an act of solidarity toward a neighboring people, having discarded the shackles of the totalitarian system; it was an act emanating from the Polish essence. We are in mutual need of one another. It is impossible to imagine Europe without a democratic and independent Ukraine. Poland is observing the changes in your country with great interest. We are prepared to be of service with our advice and assistance, in line with your requirements and our possibilities. We acknowledge that the stabilization of two of the biggest countries, and two of the largest states of this region will decide the future of our peoples and of the whole of central and east Europe.

We should constantly cooperate and learn to solve specific problems. The activity of the Consultative Committee of Poland and Ukraine should precisely facilitate this. The signing of agreements between our states defines the borders of cooperation. The time has now come to begin very specific undertakings—trade, cooperative, financial, ecological, and scientific.

In acting together, we will succeed in finding the best, the most intelligent, and the most clear-sighted settlement of our problems. We will settle them for a better future for Poland, Ukraine, and our whole continent.

A dinner was given on behalf of the president of Ukraine in honor of the respected guest. Lech Walesa's visit is continuing.

Official Alerts Government to Plight of Mercenaries

AU2405143793 Kiev HOLOS UKRAYINY in Ukrainian 21 May 93 p 8

[Article by Oleksandr Kravchenko: "Will 'Wild Geese' Fly From Ukraine...."]

[Text] Landsknechts, "soldiers of fortune," or "wild geese"—this is not a complete list of names for those people who are ready to fight against anybody and to kill anybody for money.

They are now in demand wherever there is war. This was the case in the Dniester region and Tajikistan; this is the case in Nagorno-Karabakh and at the Georgian-Abkhazian front, and even across the allegedly "non-transparent" borders—on the ruins of former Yugoslavia.

Officers of the 4th and 7th Armies that were stationed in Azerbaijan and Armenia have an extensive and tragic experience. Who didn't abuse them when the leadership forgot about them and left them, morally and sometimes physically, at the mercy of Fate. They were, and still are, accused of being "hired guns" and mercenaries.

A few days ago, the Military Collegium of Azerbaijan's Supreme Court sentenced a group of servicemen of the 7th Russian Army to be shot. All of them were accused of involvement in terrorist acts against the Azerbaijani population.

It seemed that this misfortune would spare Ukraine. However, such expectations did not come true.

There are already the first signs of the phenomenon, even though those on whom the press is reporting are mainly dilettantes and adventurers. However, attempts on the part of various opposed sides to seek the services of the Ukrainian military are becoming increasingly frequent. The cause of recruiting people to "hot spots" is being placed on an almost official foundation: Emissaries are commissioned and capital is allocated for finding specialists in specific military spheres; artillery personnel and air defense personnel in particular.

The military counterintelligence of Ukraine's Security Service is aware of the trips made by such emissaries and is, naturally, trying to prevent the recruiters' attempts to buy "cannon-fodder" in Ukraine. Individual Georgian citizens who make recruitment trips to Ukraine's military garrisons, Armenian citizens who look for military specialists in Dnipropetrovsk, and representatives of Azerbaijan who dart about military units of the Odessa Military District are within our field of vision. Some representatives of warring Abkhazia look both for mercenaries and sources of obtaining deadly weapons.

Besides, all of the emissaries are trying to procure those elements of military equipment that contain precious metals. By purchasing them, practically for nothing, they are robbing Ukraine and gathering means for recruitment.

Many of those who agreed to become military mercenaries will not be able to return home, because the path from agreement to remuneration is difficult and dangerous. All the more so since a specific feature of those wars for which they are being recruited is that "instructors" are mainly blamed for military failures. This is attested to by the tragic experience of the 23d Motorized Infantry Division in Transcarpathia, in which some of the officers, when the division was being disbanded and they waited for new appointments, agreed to take part in the Armenian-Azerbaijani conflict. In the best cases, hired servicemen remain without remuneration and, in the worst cases, they go "missing in action" or face trial "for treason" in conformity with wartime laws. Not to mention the possibility of becoming prisoners of war—in that case they are simply destroyed and are in many cases tortured before being killed, in order to intimidate others. Many simply do not survive until their first payment....

However, in the end, all wars (even those that last one hundred years) come to an end and the military mercenaries who survive will undoubtedly return to Ukraine (because homesickness is an indispensable element of the Ukrainian mentality). What should the Ukrainian state do then? They will return to us with their own specific understanding of morality—human life for them is worth precisely as much as they are paid for interrupting it.

That is why we need to prevent this from happening now. It is useless to take buckets of water to a burned down place....

It is a serious matter and, in the near future, efforts by military counterintelligence will not suffice to foil recruitment actions on the part of "death mongers." The government must take urgent measures to stabilize social processes among the servicemen so that those who are released from the Armed Forces, while trying to run away from poverty, should not find themselves in the arms of recruiters. It is necessary to adopt an effective and realistic state program for social adaptation of those servicemen who are released to the reserve. The program must envisage their retraining and provide them with civilian professions. It must also ensure that their strength, knowledge, and skills are efficiently used in the interests of our society.

Turkmenistan

Kazakhstan's Nazarbayev Concludes Visit

LD2405191693 Almaty KAZTAG in Russian 1000 GMT 24 May 93

[Excerpts] [no dateline as received] N. Nazarbayev led a government delegation on an official visit to Turkmenistan from 18 to 20 May.

In an atmosphere of understanding and accord, President N. Nazarbayev held talks with President Niyazov of Turkmenistan. The heads of the two fraternal states shared views on further expanding and deepening bilateral relations. It was emphasized that Turkmenistan and the Republic of Kazakhstan act as sovereign, equal, and friendly states, building their mutual relations and their international activity on the basis of mutual respect and non- interference in internal affairs.

The leaders of the two states spoke about the interest of their states and people in developing cooperation in the political, trade-economy, and military fields and in promoting cultural and scientific contacts.

They expressed readiness to cooperate in the interests of peace, stability, and security both on the regional and global scale. In case a situation arises that will endanger peace in the region and in the Eurasian continent, the sides have agreed to put into action the mechanism of joint consultations with the aim of coordinating their stands and taking steps for eliminating the danger. It was declared that the sides will not participate in any union or block that will be directed against either of them.

President Niyazov of Turkmenistan [words indistinct] on convening the conference on security and confidence building measures in Asia.

During the visit negotiations were held between heads of various ministries and departments, and experts of both countries. The sides agreed to develop and deepen bilateral economic and technical cooperation, and to encourage various forms of direct contacts between the enterprises and other subjects of cooperation.

The sides agreed on cooperation in the field of development, extraction, and transportation of gas between Turkmenistan and the Republic of Kazakhstan and also to other countries.

Following the talks between Presidents Niyazov and Nazarbayev and the work of the two government delegations, an agreement was signed on friendly relations and cooperation between the Republic of Kazakhstan and Turkmenistan. Other documents were also signed, which became the legal basis for the development of mutually beneficial cooperation. During his stay President of the Republic of Kazakhstan N. Nazarbayev visited the towns of Chardzhev and Krasnovodsk. He familiarized himself with the life of Kazakhs living in Turkmenistan and expressed satisfaction at their equal status there.

The leaders of Turkmenistan and Kazakhstan made a proposal to invigorate cooperation of the Caspian states with the aim of preserving the ecology and biological resources of the Caspian Sea. The sides made a proposal to the heads of the Caspian states to convene a meeting on these issues during autumn 1993 in Ashgabat.

The heads of state discussed the issue of opening a branch of the international fund for saving the Aral in the town of Dashovuz.

N. Nazarbayev's visit and his talks and meetings with President Niyazov have demonstrated the high level of understanding and confidence in the relations between Kazakhstan and Turkmenistan and the friendship between the two states.

President Nazarbayev invited President Niyazov to pay a return visit. This was accepted with gratitude.

Views Economic Integration

LD2405164093 Almaty KAZTAG in Russian 1000 GMT 24 May 93

[Excerpts] [no dateline as received] Desire to strengthen peace and cooperation between the people of Kazakhstan and Turkmenistan and all the people of Central Asia was probably the main theme of the visit to the fraternal republic by the Kazakhstan delegation headed by Nursultan Nazarbayev. During these three days the guests had numerous meetings with politicians, and representatives of workers, the intelligentsia, and farmers of Turkmenistan. A good deal has been achieved here. [passage omitted]

In a speech at the oil workers' cultural center, President Nazarbayev said: Everyone now laughs at the CIS; the whole of Europe joins their efforts and removes customs barriers, while we on the contrary run to our national apartments, close the borders, and thus worsen our own life. Therefore, Nursultan Nazarbayev stressed, I always speak in favor of the national sovereignty of all states and independence in every aspect, but at the same time we have to integrate economically and help each other. An economic union of the sovereign states is inevitable. Peace and stability in society can only be built on the basis of mutually beneficial trade and close and equal cooperation. The main tenet of Kazakhstan policy is the declaration of equal rights for all citizens, irrespective of nationality, and for the members of all political parties.

These rights are being fully realized. The president cited the following facts: Kazakhstan is the only CIS country where there are television brodcasts in six languages, where newspapers and journals are published in seven languages, and children get their education in 18 languages.

We grew up without remembering what nationality we are, Nursultan Nazarbayev said. Every human being was, for us, first of all a friend, neighbor, and comrade. We should not blacken everything that has been left to us by our fathers and grandfathers. They built the economy

which is a good basis for the further development. We should stop playing down our past and build a new life by the joint and active efforts of all the people.

Such a stand has aroused a positive response from all the walks of society, both in Turkmenistan and Kazakhstan. It is certain, therefore, that the results of the talks of the delegations of the fraternal republics will serve the purpose of bringing together their people and invigorating constructive work.

Niyazov To Visit France 26-28 May

LD2405110093 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0955 GMT 24 May 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Lyudmila Glazovskaya]

[Text] Ashgabat May 24 TASS—President Saparmurad Niyazov of Turkmenistan will pay an official visit to France on May 26-28.

"France is one of the few major Western countries, with which Turkmenistan does not have close, mutually beneficial relations," Turkmenistan Foreign Minister Khalykberdy Atayev told ITAR-TASS.

Niyazov's visit at the invitation of French President Francois Mitterrand aims to familiarize France with Turkmenistan, which plans to further unfold its open-door policy in regard to West-European countries, Atayev said.

According to him, the two parties plan to sign bilateral agreements on trade and economic cooperation and on investment protection.

The meeting of the heads of state is scheduled for May 26.

Uzbekistan

Further on Indian Prime Minister's Visit

BK2505042893 Delhi All India Radio Network in English 0245 GMT 25 May 93

[Text] The prime minister, Mr. P.V. Narasimha Rao, has said the cross-border and state-sponsored terrorism is not only direct interference in the internal affairs of a country but a threat to territorial integrity. Addressing a joint press conference with Uzbekistan President Islam Karimov in Tashkent yesterday, Mr. Rao said cross-border terrorism is an attack on the human rights of the people. He said the South Asian and Central Asian regions must be free from extremist ideologies, training camps for militants, illegal infiltration of arms, and terrorism. Mr. Karimov extended full support to India's unity and territorial integrity. He said India and Pakistan should settle the Kashmir issue bilaterally and through peaceful negotiations. Mr. Rao described his discussions with Mr. Karimov as very useful. Mr. Rao said, as democratic and secular countries, India and Uzbekistan have much in common.

Earlier, India and Uzbekistan signed five agreements yesterday, including a historic treaty for greater bilateral cooperation to fight international crimes, terrorism, and illegal trade in narcotics and arms. Other treaties relate to mutual cooperation in trade, including a $10 million Indian credit to Uzbekistan.

Our correspondent reports from Tashkent that the credit will be available mainly for import of capital goods, project exports, and services from India. The agreements were signed at the conclusion of official talks between the visiting Indian delegation led by the prime minister, Mr. Narasimha Rao, and the host delegation led by President Islam Karimov.

More on Agreements, Treaty

BK2405160493 Delhi All India Radio Network in English 1530 GMT 24 May 93

[Text] India and Uzbekistan signed five agreements today, including a historic treaty for greater bilateral cooperation to fight international crimes, terrorism and illegal trade in narcotics and arms. The other treaties relate to mutual cooperation in trade, including a $10 million Indian credit for Uzbekistan Central Asian Republic. The credit will mainly be for import of capital goods and services from India. The agreements were signed at the conclusion of official talks between the visiting Indian delegation led by the prime minister, Mr. Narasimha Rao, and the host delegation led by President Islam Karimov.

The two countries expressed their resolve to strive for a nuclear weapons free and non-violent world and promote bilateral cooperation for peace and international security. The two countries condemned all forms of violence, fundamentalism, and religious extremism. They have also pledged to fight crimes against civil aviation security, shipping, and other forms of transport.

Both the countries have agreed to maintain regular contacts at different levels on issues of mutual concern. The trade and economic agreement stated that the two countries should promote trade on a long-term and stable basis. It was agreed to establish joint ventures and encourage direct investments, transfer of technology, and know-how, particularly the most developed technologies. India has agreed to impart training to Uzbek personnel in foreign trade, economic management, and industry.

Apart from a treaty and credit agreement, the two countries also signed documents on trade for 1993 air services and science and technology and tourism.

Azerbaijan

Government Announces Cease-Fire Until 29 May

LD2405190993 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1716 GMT 24 May 93

[By AZERTAC-TASS correspondents Aslan Aslanly and Gekchekkhanum Tagiyeva]

[Text] Baku, 24 May—"Azerbaijan has decided to suspend combat activity by the National Army in the zone of conflict until 29 May," Arif Aliyev, head of the Azerbaijan president's press service, announced at a briefing today. According to him, this step "was taken to create conditions for implementing the U.S.-Russian-Turkish tripartite proposals, ensuring the withdrawal of Armenian troops from Kelbadzhar, and continuing a peaceful negotiation process."

Reports by AZERTAC correspondents also say that Arif Aliyev stressed that "the main components of the tripartite plan for unblocking the negotiation process remain valid, but an amended timetable for the urgent measures aimed at settling the conflict has been submitted to the sides of the conflict. According to the plan, which is to be signed on 26 May, Armenian troops should be withdrawn from the occupied Kelbadzharskiy Rayon of Azerbaijan from 29 May to 3 June. On 1 June, both sides must cease hostilities in the zones of the conflict for 60 days while CSCE observers posted in areas of hostilities should confirm on 3 June that Armenian troops have been withdrawn. Also, the peace talks in Geneva are expected to resume on 6 June."

The head of the Azerbaijan president's press service briefed journalists on the plans to hold another round of talks within the framework of the CSCE Minsk group scheduled for 15 June in Rome.

"Despite the fact that Azerbaijan remains unhappy about some clauses of the tripartite plan, the republic has accepted it as a whole, taking into consideration the fact that this document is aimed at implementing the well-known resolution of the UN Security Council and that it corresponds to Azerbaijan's striving to resume the peace process," Arif Aliyev said.

According to a statement by the Azerbaijan Defense Ministry that AZERTAC has just received, "the subunits of the National Army have been ordered to observe a complete unilateral cease-fire in the areas of hostilities from 2400 today until 0001 on 29 May." The statement stresses that "this initiative is to confirm the groundlessness and biased nature of the claims made by the Armenian side to the effect that the Azerbaijani Army has stepped up combat activities and is preparing for a large-scale offensive operation." The Defense Ministry has expressed the hope that "the Armenian side will refrain from any military or political actions that could escalate the conflict and thwart the peaceful negotiation process."

Aliyev: Only President Can Decide Russian Soldiers' Fate

LD2405200493 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1900 GMT 24 May 93

[Text] It is only President Abulfaz Elchibey who can decide whether to pardon the five Russian servicemen sentenced to death by the Military Collegium of Azerbaijan's Supreme Court. This was stated at a briefing today by Arif Aliyev, press secretary to the Azerbaijani head of state. He said that the president's apparatus is now studying appeals from Russian officials and public organizations containing a request to show clemency toward Russian soldiers.

Meanwhile, at a sitting of the republic's parliament, it was proposed to discuss the MPs' attitude to the death sentence. In this connection, speaker Isa Kamberov said that messages from Russian officials do not make it clear whether the latter are concerned about their citizens or about the servicemen of the Russian Army. Kamberov suggested that deputies should ask the Russian Government for a clarification.

General Procuracy Maintains Guilt of Russian Servicemen

OW2105140693 Baku Azerbaycan Radio Televiziyasi Television Network in Russian 1500 GMT 20 May 93

[From the "Telefaks" newscast]

[Text] The republic's General Procuracy considers attempts by the Russian mass media to represent the six Russian servicemen, sentenced previously by the Military Collegium of the Azerbaijan Supreme Court, as innocent victims to be far-fetched. Its statement, received today by AZERTAC, says that insinuations of this kind have nothing in common with the truth concerning these servicemen, established during the preliminary investigation and court proceedings. They are Russian citizens who were serving in Yerevan in a separate Spetsnaz Company of Airborne Troops.

The statement stresses that evidence gathered in this case, as well as the personal admissions of the convicted, attest to the fact that they committed their criminal acts on the territory of Azerbaijan together with armed Armenian formations and with the knowledge of the commanders of their unit. The statement notes, in connection with this, that their lengthy absence from their unit was not noticed even when they were at the center for subversive training located near Khankendi and participated in subversive and combat operations in Karabakh and neighboring regions of Azerbaijan.

The General Procuracy considers attempts to represent the convicted as Armenian mercenaries who had no relationship to the Russian Army as absurd. According to this department it had earlier received an official response from the Russian military commissariat on their call-up for active military service. Reports on their desertion from the aforementioned military unit were

not received. The General Procuracy considers the sentence in the case of the six Russian servicemen to be just. The statement says that it fully corresponds with the gravity of their deeds. The desire of certain circles to help the criminals evade responsibility and to attach political overtones to the case after its conclusion are considered here to be a dangerous undertaking.

Elchibey's Rival Reportedly Asks Iran for Asylum

LD2205230593 Tehran IRNA in English 1458 GMT 22 May 93

[Text] Astara, Gilan Prov., May 22, IRNA—Leader of the independent Azerbaijan party Nezami Suleymanov has asked the Islamic Republic of Iran for political asylum, Radio Baku announced today.

Suleymanov was a rival of Abulfaz Elchibey in the presidential elections held last year.

The radio quoted Suleymanov as saying Friday that he had made a similar request from the Russian Government but he did not specify the time of these requests.

Suleymanov told the radio that he and his family are threatened by the ruling party and therefore he had to seek political asylum from Tehran or Moscow.

He did not say if he had received any response from Iran or Russia to his request.

New Presidential Counselor Interviewed

NC2405172793 Baku TURAN in English 1459 GMT 24 May 93

[Text] Baku, 24 May (TURAN)—The President Counselor Yunus Oguz appointed to its post at the end of last week would decide the problems of coordination of relations with social and political organizations and parties informed the counselor himself in the interview to TURAN correspondent.

According to Oguz the range of his activity will include not only the republican political structures but parties and movements of foreign states. In particular one of the sphere of his activity will be setting of contacts with Azerbaijanian communities abroad.

According to Oguz the forming of correct imagination of parties and social organizations is an important element in state mechanism. The work of new structure of the president staff will let to set up the real political position of any foreign party said Oguz.

Oguz noted he hoped to use more effectively the intellectual potential which many parties and political organizations in Azerbaijan have.

The counselor stressed that he is a liberal-democrat by his political views and he proceeds from the state interest priority in his political activity.

Oguz is 33. He is in charge of People's Liberation Party (Khalg Azadlyg Partiyasi). This party is not joined the structure of the People's Front of Azerbaijan.

Georgia

Shevardnadze Calls For 'One-Month Peace Break'

LD2405163493 Tbilisi Radio Tbilisi Network in Russian 1505 GMT 24 May 93

[Text] In his traditional radio interview today, the head of the Georgian state payed special attention to the visit to Georgia by Russian Deputy Foreign Minister Boris Pastukhov, the Russian president's authorized representative for conflict settlement, and Mr. Edouard Brunner, the personal representative of the UN secretary general. Eduard Shevardnadze expressed hope that the UN mission will make its own contribution to settling the conflict in Abkhazia. The head of state said certain time is needed to implement the peace initiative. Therefore, Eduard Shevardnadze proposed to establish a one-month peace break, which will allow the sides to exchange opinions about the first stage of the conflict settlement and outline further steps. In discussing the conflict settlement in Abkhazia, Eduard Shevardnadze again stressed the significance of the Caucasus factor and particularly Georgia as a geopolitical entity in the region.

Later, the head of state spoke about Georgia's foreign relations, pointing out that they are helping Georgia move forward on the road of democratic development. However, Georgia has to tackle its domestic problems without help from its western neighbors.

Finally, the talk dealt with the search for ways out of the present difficult political and economic situation, as well as the reorganization of the Georgian Armed Forces.

Shevardnadze Reorganizes Defense Ministry

LD2505081893 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 0725 GMT 25 May 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Albert Kochetkov]

[Text] Tbilisi, 25 May (ITAR-TASS)—Eduard Shevardnadze, chairman of the Georgian parliament and commander in chief of the republic's armed forces, has issued a decree reorganizing the structure of the Defense Ministry. In particular, the document regulates the structure of that department's central apparatus, introducing the position of chief of the General Staff and abolishing the post of commander of the state's armed forces.

Most recently, the latter position was held by Lieutenant General Anatoliy Kamkamidze, who was brought in from Ukraine. After arriving in Georgia, he was given the rank of colonel general. Anatoliy Kamkamidze is of Georgian origin and previously held the post of deputy commander of the forces of the Carpathian military district. After returning to his historical homeland, he commanded combat operations in Abkhazia, issuing

orders through an interpreter, because he had never lived in Georgia and still does not speak the state language.

Shevardnadze Upset Over Pro-Gamsakhurdia Rally

LD2405142093 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1353 GMT 24 May 93

[By GIA-TASS correspondent]

[Text] Tbilisi May 24 TASS—Supporters of ex-President Zviad Gamsakhurdia made use of the Konstantinoba holiday held in the city of Abasha, a district centre in Megrelia, to mark the birth centenary of the classic of the Georgian literature Konstantine Gamsakhurdia and organised an anti-government rally last Sunday. At the rally they urged the Georgian population to force the present republican leadership to step down.

In a Georgian radio interview, Georgian leader Eduard Shevardnadze voiced bewilderment over the stance of the Abash district's leaders. According to Shevardnadze, in a recent talk with him, the district leaders thanked the Georgian government for the supply of the district with energy resources and seeds from the state stock, which enabled the district to carry out the spring sowing campaign successfully. Today, however, the district authorities not only helped hold the anti-government rally but arranged a party for a hundred of its organisers, Shevardnadze noted.

Commission Starts Work To Coordinate Russian Troop Withdrawal

PM2405142593 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 22 May 93 p 2

[Report by Lieutenant Colonel Aleksandr Agafonov and Lieutenant Colonel Leonid Pozdeyev: "Leaving With More Than One Suitcase. Russian Troop Withdrawal from Georgia Requires Serious Preparations"]

[Text] The first session of the Georgian-Russian commission to draw up a schedule for the Russian troop withdrawal from Georgia has been held at the headquarters of the Group of Russian Forces in the Transcaucasus [GRFT] in Tbilisi. The commission is headed on the Georgian side by Zurab Kervalishvili, vice premier of the republic government, and Nodar Natadze, chairman of the parliamentary Commission for Defense and National Security. The Russian delegation is headed by Major General Yuriy Baluyevskiy, chief of staff and first deputy commander of the GRFT.

According to Baluyevskiy, the Russian side had expected to withdraw several military units from Georgia by the end of the first half of 1993. This had not happened because of the lack of mutual accords. The setting up of the bilateral commission inspired hope that the troop withdrawal would take place in precise accordance with a jointly formulated schedule. Thus it is planned to withdraw all units of the Kutaisi Garrison before July this year.

Approaches to organizing the troop withdrawal were discussed at the joint commission's first session. The Russian side advanced a number of conditions: One of the main ones is that the Russian units must be withdrawn from Georgian territory with their full table of organization complement of arms, hardware, and stocks of materiel, while the Georgian side must ensure their unimpeded withdrawal.

The GRFT chief of staff also pointed out that the transfer of weapons and combat hardware to the Georgian side is being carried out strictly in accordance with the quotas laid down in the 1992 Tashkent agreements. As regards small arms, motor vehicles, and other property of the Russian troops, whose fate is not laid down in the Tashkent agreements, the Georgian side proclaims all this its own, citing the earlier-adopted decree of the Georgian parliament on the nationalization of all property belonging to units of the former Soviet Army stationed on the republic's territory. At the commission session, however, according to Baluyevskiy, the Georgian side was understanding of our demand for the Russian units to be withdrawn with table of organization arms.

Touching on the recent statement by Lieutenant General Sufiyan Beppayev, former deputy commander of the GRFT, to the effect that our troops are able to leave Georgia in the space of one month or even more quickly, Baluyevskiy pointed out that it is possible to leave even in the space of 24 hours if you take one suitcase with you and leave everything else behind. But this is not a solution to the question.

Russia Demands Release of Arrested Officer

LD2405202293 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1900 GMT 24 May 93

[Text] A statement was released today in Tbilisi by the press center of the Russian group of forces in the Transcaucasus. The document says that Georgia's Information and Intelligence Service detained Captain Karen Karayan, an officer of the Russian Army, on suspicion of sabotage. The arrest was made without the knowledge of the Russian command and in contravention of the norms of international law.

In this connection the Russian troop command demands that the leadership of Georgia's Information and Intelligence Service release the Russian officer immediately, and submit to the military procuracy the facts confirming Karayan's guilt.

Defense Minister Returns From Abkhazia

LD2405145693 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1340 GMT 24 May 93

[By GIA-TASS correspondents]

[Text] Tbilisi, 24 May—Georgia's Defense Minister Georgiy Karkarashvili has returned to Tbilisi after a trip to Abkhazia. During his one-day visit to Sukhumi, he had a meeting with Tamaz Nadareyshvili, chairman of the Council of Defense and the Council of Ministers of the autonomous republic. He also had a conversation with the UN secretary general's personal envoy, Edouard Brunner, during which there was discussion of a stage-by-stage peaceful settlement of the conflict in the region.

General Karkarashvili also visited Russian Federation troop positions near Sukhumi and had meetings with the civilian population of the town.

Abkhazians Claim New Troops Moved in Under Cease-Fire

LD2405132393 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1220 GMT 24 May 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Roman Zadunayskiy]

[Text] Moscow, 24 May—The Georgian side has used the cease-fire to transfer additional forces into the zone of military action, especially in Sukhumi, the press center of Abkhazia's Supreme Soviet told the ITAR-TASS correspondent, referring to an Abkhazian Ministry of Defense announcement.

The military department claims that preparations are being made to send T-62 and T-80 tanks to Georgia from the Ukraine, a move provided for under the terms of a military treaty concluded between Georgia and Ukraine. This is being accompanied by Georgia's special services in the territory of Abkhazia, Krasnodar Kray, and the republics of the North Caucasus becoming more active, the Abkhazian Defense Ministry's announcement says. According to the ministry's information, some of the employess of these special services are being trained in Ukraine.

According to the Abkhazian Defense Ministry's information, the command of Georgia's troops transferred another 500 mercenaries from Ukraine to Sukhumi on 22 and 23 May. There are now more than 1000 of them.

In the opinion of the Abkhazian military, these facts show that the cease-fire is being used by Georgia's leaders to increase its military strength in Abkhazia's territory.

Abashidze Heads Delegation Visit to London

LD2505084893 Tbilisi Radio Tbilisi Network in Georgian 0400 GMT 25 May 93

[Text] A Georgian delegation led by Aslan Abashidze, parliament deputy chairman and chairman of the Supreme Soviet of Ajara, is continuing its visit to London. After meeting with (Frank Cravice), chairman of the UN Refugee Committee, and representatives of press, radio, television, and world news agencies, the Abashidze Fund was presented.

In the conference hall of London's Meridian Hotel, Aslan Abashidze met Georgian students and scientists working in the British capital. The delegation leader spoke about the processes under way in Georgia and stated his own stance on the development of the republic's economy.

Estonia

Purchase of Israeli Missile Systems Kept 'Secret'

WS2405081893 Tallinn BNS BALTIC BUSINESS WEEKLY in English 2224 GMT 23 May 93

[Text] Estonia has taken into use weapons corresponding to the NATO standards: Last Monday, the first consignment of weapons bought from Israel arrived in Tallinn.

Israel will sell to Estonia weapons for USD 50 mln [million]. Estonia buys missile systems, antiaircraft guns, bomb throwers, light machine guns, precision guns, revolvers, and ammunition.

The Israeli national munition concern will sell the weapons to Estonia "on the hire purchase". The deed of purchase was signed in January but the transaction was kept secret on request of the Israeli government until the first consignment reached Tallinn.

It is the first major weapons purchase contract of Estonia. Earlier, the Estonian Defence Forces had brought Kalashnikov automatics produced in Romania, and some arms produced in Russia.

The West has refused to sell weapons to Estonia saying it is a crisis region.

The one-before-the-last weekend, the arms manufacturers of South Africa demonstrated their products in the Aegviidu artillery range. The new commander of the Estonian Defence Forces said that weapons will be bought from China, too.

New Weapons Demonstrated

LD2405144193 Tallinn Radio Tallinn Network in Estonian 1400 GMT 22 May 93

[Text] Today at 0930 hours, weapons purchased from Israel were demonstrated to Prime Minister Mart Laar, Defense Minister Hain Rebas, defense forces commanders, and journalists at Aegviidu. Submachine guns, mini-Uzis and Galils, grenade equipment that can be placed [words indistinct] grenade launchers, a 81-mm mortar, and a 106-mm artillery gun were shown. After the weapons were shown a brief live firing took place with the participation of both the prime minister and defense minister.

The prime minister refused to answer how much the whole consignment of weapons had cost Estonia. According to the defense minister, however, the weapons deal had been very favorable. The weapons purchased were not the least expensive, but in view of their quality and Israeli weapon-makers' reputation in the world the deal was very successful.

Laar Receives Russian Deputy Foreign Minister

LD2405131693 Tallinn Radio Tallinn Network in Estonian 1200 GMT 24 May 93

[Text] Premier Mart Laar received Anatoliy Adamishin, Russia's first deputy foreign minister, in Toompea today. Adamishin arrived in Estonia today on a working visit.

According to the government's press service, the parties expressed a mutual desire for good-neighborly relations. The deputy foreign minister said that he had not arrived to conclude specific agreements but he that he will convey to the top Russian leadership the Estonian side's idea of relations between the two countries. The Estonian premier mentioned that the most important problem between the two countries is to do with the Russian troop withdrawal. Anatoliy Adamishin did not rule out the possibility that the troops will be withdrawn by the end of the current year as Russian Defense Minister Pavel Grachev recently announced in Vilnius. It is known this is not, however, the (?official) Moscow position.

Mart Laar expressed readiness to discuss the issue of constructing housing for the withdrawing military, on the basis of specific projects.

Economic and cultural relations between the two countries were discussed during the meeting. Mart Laar stated that Estonia is interested in close links with all its neighbors. The Estonian- Russian economic agreements, however, have not progressed. Anatoliy Adamishin promised to [words indistinct] also on this issue.

Present at the meeting on Toompea were also Minister Juri Luik, Estonian ambassador Juri Kahn and Russian ambassador Aleksandr Trofimov. Premier Mart Laar gave a lunch in honor of Anatoliy Adamishin and his wife.

Laar Receives Russian Naval Deputy Commander

WS2405105393 Tallinn BNS in English 1430 GMT 21 May 93

[Text] Tallinn, May 21, BNS—Estonian Premier Mart Laar on Friday [21 May] received deputy commander of the Russian naval forces admiral Igor Kasatonov and Russian officers.

BNS was informed by the government press service that Kasatonov had said it was a formal call that became "matter-of-fact" on the initiative of Premier Laar.

The admiral said that the Russian troops withdrawal from Estonia is going according to the schedule. Head of the Tallinn garrison admiral Yuriy Belov said that the transport of ammunition also goes smoothly.

Mart Laar focused the attention on the problems of Paldiski and expressed readiness for concrete help proceeding from the necessity of the quick dismantling of the nuclear reactors. Laar offered the help of foreign

specialists in dismantling the reactors. Kasatonov, however, did not hold it necessary.

Russia has got a plan for taking out the reactors. It was agreed that the plan would be elaborated together with Estonian specialists.

The parties also discussed building houses for the Russian soldiers to be withdrawn. Foreign states have expressed readiness to help solve the problem. Laar said it makes sense to speak about concrete projects only.

Press secretary of the government Ain Saarna said the atmosphere of the meeting again gave hope that the Russian troops will leave Estonia before Russia reaches any political decisions at the Estonian-Russian negotiations.

Foreign Minister Meets Italian Counterpart in Rome

WS2405143293 Tallinn BNS in English 1748 GMT 22 May 93

[Text] Tallinn, May 22, BNS—Estonian Foreign Minister Trivimi Velliste on Friday [21 May] met his Italian counterpart Biniamino Andreatta in Rome.

Velliste informed Andreatta about the political and economic situation of Estonia, about privatization and the forthcoming local authorities elections. The parties also discussed the Baltic co- operation and the stay of the Russian troops in Estonia.

Biniamino Andreatta appreciated Estonia's success in transferring to market economy and expressed regret about the insufficient information exchange between Estonia and Italy.

By now, the Estonian-Italian agreements on mutual investments protection and scientific co-operation are ready and will be signed during the visit of Biniamino Andreatta to Estonia this Autumn.

Speaking about Estonia's free trade agreements with the Nordic countries, Andreatta was convinced they will be valid even after Sweden and Finland have joined the European Community.

The ministers agreed that cultural contacts of the two states should be closer, the Foreign Ministry press service reports.

Estonian Defence Minister Hain Rebas met his Italian counterpart F. Fabbri. Rebas gave a survey of the principles of Estonia's defence and security policies, the Baltic co-operation in the field, and the problems of the Estonian Defence Forces.

Rebas also expressed hope that Italy will help educate Estonian soldiers. He also invited Fabbri to visit Estonia.

Latvia

Three Intergovernmental Accords Signed With Russia

WS2405105193 Tallinn BNS in English 1430 GMT 21 May 93

[Text] Riga, May 21, BNS—The heads of the state delegations at talks between Russia and Latvia Sergey Zotov and Janis Dinevics on Friday [21 May] signed three intergovernmental agreements in Jurmala near Riga.

The agreements provided for: the creation of joint enterprises to replace the Russian military plants which exist in Latvia, the scrapping of visa regulations for Russian servicemen and their families for transit across the Russian-Latvian border; and the utilization of postal and electronic communications and radio frequencies by the Russian armed forces being withdrawn from Latvia.

The current round of talks between Russia and Latvia ended today, May 21. BNS was informed by Zotov that the next round would take place in Moscow at the beginning of June.

Zotov Views Results of Latest Russo-Latvian Talks

WS2505084793 Tallinn BNS in English 1605 GMT 22 May 93

[Text] Riga, May 22, BNS—After a year of finalizing positions and preparing documents, the Russo-Latvian negotiations have produced "feasible results." This statement was made by the head of the Russian delegation, Sergey Zotov, at a press conference devoted to the current round of talks in Jurmala yesterday.

As was reported before, the two sides signed agreements on setting up joint ventures on the basis of Russian works in Estonia, non-visa entry to Latvia for Russian servicemen and their families, using the post, communications and radio frequencies by the Russian troops withdrawn from Latvia.

The head of the Latvian delegation, State Minister Janis Dinevics positively assessed the current round of negotiations which, in his words, "developed a mechanism for the withdrawal of troops."

According to Zotov, the sides failed to reach an agreement over the final withdrawal deadline. The talks focused on Russian- proposed variant which envisions pulling out the troops in 1994. However, the Latvian side categorically disagreed with preserving Russian strategic objects in Latvia.

Latvia attempts to use "the language of ultimatums" in its bid to press Russia to revise the troops withdrawal deadline 1994, Zotov said.

Zotov says Russia has once surrendered to Latvian demands in August 1992, when it agreed to fix the pullout deadline in 1994.

The Latvian ultimative attitudes made Russia to bind the troops withdrawal to several preconditions, Zotov said.

Zotov says he hopes Latvia will change its stance to lead a constructive dialogue over the withdrawal deadlines soon.

Head of the Latvian delegation Janis Dinevics says no agreements were reached regarding the withdrawal deadlines because Russia demands to preserve its three top significant military installations on the Latvian soil.

Russia refuses to dismantle the Skundra radar installation, insists on retaining its radar station in Skundra for 10 years, the Ventspils Cosmic Communication Center - an intelligence object in Venstpils for 6 years and a naval port in Liepaja for 5 years.

Commenting on the Latvian parliament's categorical demand the troops be pulled out within 1993, Zotov said: "The parliament may pass any documents it likes. But it is unacceptable for the Russian side when it is addressed in the language of ultimatum and dictate."

Acute discussions arose over social guarantees for servicemen and their families including military pensioners, especially the problem of granting compensations for housing of those leaving Latvia.

The two countries reached an agreement to sign 5 accords regarding the withdrawal of troops and 1 on other issues during the next round of negotiations.

Defense Minister Comments on Visit to Italy

LD2305183293 Riga Radio Riga Network in Latvian 1700 GMT 23 May 93

[Text] Defense Minister Talavs Jundzis returned from Italy today. He told a news conference at Riga airport that the participation of the defense ministers of the three Baltic states in the conference of defense ministers of west European states should be acknowledged as a significant fact. The minister pointed out that the meetings with defense ministers of several countries were particularly important. The French and Italian defense ministers, who recently took up office, showed interest in Latvia's problems.

Mr. Jundzis had an opportunity to visit a military unit and get acquainted with the conditions of everyday life for soldiers, as well as to learn that in Italy too, not all youths go to serve in the state armed forces with enthusiasm. So, Italy also has problems similar to those in Latvia.

According to the minister, a visit to the Military Cartography Institute in Florence, which is proud of its 200 year-long history, was also important. An exchange of opinions about problems of military cartography in Latvia and about the possibility of exchanging delegations of cartography officers took place there.

However, the culminating point of the whole visit to Italy was a visit to the Vatican and a meeting with Pope John Paul II. Mr. Jundzis acknowledged this as the most significant event since he took up his post.

It is possible that readers of the DIENA newspaper will see a rather interesting and unique photograph tomorrow.

Lithuania

Landsbergis Notes 'Deviations' in Russian Troop Withdrawal

WS2505104693 Tallinn BNS in English 1905 GMT 24 May 93

[Text] Vilnius, May 24, BNS—Deviations from the Russian withdrawal schedule and added stipulations in the Russian-Lithuanian talks continue to raise the concerns of observers in Lithuania's opposition faction.

The withdrawal of some Russian units is behind schedule by two to three months, said opposition leader Vytautas Landsbergis at a press conference Monday [24 May]. Landsbergis did not present any specific examples but noted that facts are available in the country's defense ministry.

The opposition leader said the pull out should be registered by local administrations and the foreign ministry. The ministry could issue bulletins to tell foreign embassies about the withdrawal.

The pull out is unconditioned and all agreements on the matter are purely technical, he said. But Russia continues to stress the absence of agreements, especially with regard to Latvia and Estonia," he said, "this does not mean that the army may not be withdrawn from there."

Landsbergis' primary ire, however, targeted real estate issues and compensations. According to Lithuanian law, there is no real estate of the Russian army in Lithuania. The opposition leader said he was surprised by the Russian defense minister's comment that property will be handed over accorded to prices coordinated by both sides in property transfer acts.

A reassuring fact is that Russia "is starting to talk about compensations, if not to Lithuania, then at least to specific individuals," he said.

He also expressed hope that a starting point for compensations will be a section of an agreement between Lithuanian and Russian defense ministries. The section stipulates that ammunition seized by the Soviet troops during January 1991 will be returned to Lithuania. Landsbergis, however, warned that Russia may treat the return as a final settlement.

Russia Cuts Natural Gas Supply by Half

WS2505104993 Tallinn BNS in English 1905 GMT 24 May 93

[Text] Vilnius, May 24, BNS—The supply of natural gas to Lithuania was cut by half Sunday [23 May] and may be cut off completely June 1 if Lithuania fails to pay around 40 million U.S. dollars to the Russian enterprise Lentransgaz.

Zenonas Vistinis, director general of the state enterprise Lietuvos dujos (Lithuanian gas), said Russia's constant threats to cut off gas will probably be put into practice this time.

The Lithuanian enterprise received a warning telegram from Lentransgaz last Friday. Vistinis said a decision to get back the debt by such measures was made by the Russian gas concern Gazprom, which is also waiting for debts from Latvia, Estonia and Belarus.

Vistinis said the debt could be paid back by using foreign loans. To recover the money he suggests a strict system of settlements to make Lithuanian consumers repay a 21-billion Lithuanian Provisional Money or 40 million USD debt to Lietuvos dujos.

Lithuania consumed 3.5 million cubic meters of gas each day until Sunday. The demand in winter used to 8 million - 9 million cubic meters.

The dispatch of LIETUVOS DUJOS said that the supply of gas will be limited to energy and some industrial enterprises Monday.

Swedish Defense Minister Pays Courtesy Visit

LD2405145993 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1435 GMT 24 May 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Vladas Burbulis]

[Text] Vilnius May 24 TASS—Swedish Defence Minister Anders Bjorck arrived in Vilnius today on a courtesy visit.

The high guest was received by Lithuanian President Algirdas Brazauskas and Prime Minister Adolfas Slezevicius. Lithuanian Minister for the Protection of the Territory Audrius Butkevicius [title as received] also took part in the talk.

Adviser to the head of state for national security affairs Alvidas Sadeckas, who attended the meeting, told ITAR-TASS that the talk focused on prospects for military and economic cooperation. Specifically, Bjorck showed interest in Russian troop withdrawal from Lithuania's territory. He treated positively the possibility of training Lithuanian Army officers in Sweden's military higher educational establishments and schools and rendering technical and other aid to Lithuania's armed forces.

The sides decided to step up economic cooperation. Bjorck noted that his country's businessmen show interest in investing their capital in the Lithuanian economy. The president and head of government, in turn, assured the Swedish minister that the republic will update the laws opening the way to foreign capital and creating favourable conditions for investors.